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UNPUBLISHED PAPERS OF

John, Seventh Lord Sinclair, Covenanter and Royalist,

WITH NOTES,

BY

JOHN A. FAIRLEY.

PETERHEAD:
PRINTED BY P. SCROGIE, "BUCHAN OBSERVER" WORKS.

1905.

To
James Cameron Esq
with kind regards
John A. Fairley

26th May 1905.

Of this Reprint only 50 *Copies have been printed for private circulation.*

John Sinclair, [illegible]

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COVENANTER AND ROYALIST

WITH NOTES

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JOHN A. FAIRLEY.

In the writing of one of the great histories of a country the historian has to handle such an immense mass of matter and extending over a space of time so vast that he is able only to deal with events that in a lesser or greater degree may be ranked as of outstanding importance. And while these great histories become the storehouses of repute to which the student naturally has recourse when he wishes to stock his mind with knowledge regarding the progress made by the human race, it is to original papers such as I have ventured to bring before you—of second-rate importance though some of them may be—that he must inevitably turn if he is to get down to the bed-rock of things, and to understand aright the feelings and motives that animated the prime movers whose deeds are described and summed up in the chronicles of the epoch to which they belong.

These papers then, fourteen in number, were obtained by me about two years ago from Mr Thomas Thorpe, the well-known bookseller of London and Reading, and so far as I have been able to ascertain none of them have ever been published until now. For the reason already mentioned they are of considerable interest because they throw additional light upon a dark period in our national history, and afford us glimpses of what was transpiring behind the scenes in the earlier movements that were developing in Scotland in the great Civil War which ended so disastrously for the Stuart dynasty. Charles I. succeeded to the Crown

of Great Britain and Ireland on the death of his father James VI. on the 27th of March in the year 1625, and it soon became apparent that the old order of things was not to prevail in the new reign. James had been obstinate on occasions but was infirm of purpose, with the result that matters with him were rarely pressed to the point of actual strife. Charles, on the other hand, had fixed ideas and a steady determination to have his own will in all things with no nice distinctions regarding the means he might employ to realise his schemes. He had only been eight months on the throne when he first came into collision with his Scottish subjects by a royal proclamation made in Edinburgh in the month of November announcing the resumption by the State of the church revenues, which practically meant the whole of the vast ecclesiastical lands which had passed into the hands of the territorial lords since the Reformation —Charles maintaining that what the Crown had given the Crown could take back. It was not till 1633 that the wrangling which naturally followed on the heels of such a step was brought to a close by compromise, established on the basis of a nine years' purchase. In this same year the King visited his "ancient kingdom" and was crowned with great state and much solemnity in the Abbey Church of Holyrood House. But in the midst of all the rejoicing there was a widespread feeling of uneasiness when the attention given to ritualism in the ceremonies that took place was seen. The Bishop of Moray preached in St Giles, in the King's presence, wearing his rochet, "which is ane whyte lyning or lavne drawin on abone his cot, abone the quhilk his blak goun is put on and his armes throw the goun sleives, and abone his goun sleives is also whyte lyning or lavne drawin on, schapin lyke ane sleive. This is the weid of archibischopis and bischopis, and weiris no surpluce, but churchemen of inferior degrie in tyme of seruice weiris the samen, whiche is abone their claithis, ane syde lyning cloth over body and armes like to ane sack."* This innovation was held by the Presbyterian clergy to be an attempt to introduce into Scotland robes and practices which had been affected by Roman Catholics in the pre-Reformation days, and led to a correspondence which has since been distinguished as the fight about "the whites." Such was the beginning of the long and fruitless endeavour to assimilate the Church of Scotland with that of England. It is possible that the efforts of Charles I. to introduce Episcopacy into Scotland might have

* Spalding's Trubles. Spalding Club edit. Vol. I., p. 39.

succeeded in time had he been content to move slowly and develop his plans gradually. But Providence willed otherwise and Charles could not wait. His ill-advised action in attempting to thrust the Liturgy* upon his northern subjects, plunged the country at once into a condition of ferment, and converted into rebels a people, strong in their ideas of loyalty to their Sovereign, but to whom the love of religious liberty was dearer even than life itself. In the prolonged and fierce struggle which began in 1637, when the old woman, Jenny Geddes† flung her cutty stool at the head of the Dean of Edinburgh as he commenced to read prayers in St Giles' Cathedral from the Service Book so carefully prepared by Archbishop Laud, and which did not end until after Scotland and the sister kingdom had finally freed themselves from the tyrannical rule of the Stuarts, many valuable lives were sacrificed, estates were confiscated or subjected to heavy fines, and national progress for the time being was brought to a standstill. The accomplishment of the great Revolution of 1689, however, was an object lesson to Royalty, and made

* Although rejected by the Scots, this Prayer Book has been called the parent of the Liturgy of the American Church.

† In 1886 a tablet of copper commemorating this incident - so well-known to every Scottish boy and girl - was placed in St Giles' Cathedral. The inscription, written by Lord Justice-General Inglis, is as follows :—

CONSTANT ORAL TRADITION AFFIRMS
THAT NEAR THIS SPOT
A BRAVE SCOTCHWOMAN, JENNY GEDDES,
ON THE 23rd OF JULY, 1637,
STRUCK THE FIRST BLOW
IN THE GREAT STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE,
WHICH,
AFTER A CONFLICT OF HALF A CENTURY,
ENDED
IN THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF
CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

A memorial tablet to Dean Hannay had previously been fixed on one of the pillars. It bears the following inscription :—"To James Hannay, D.D., Dean of the Cathedral, 1634-39. He was the first and the last who read the service book in this church. This memorial is erected in happier times by his descendant." The *Scotsman* newspaper of 24th April, 1886 remarked—"some thought that the other side ought to be heard also and the 'Jenny Geddes' tablet is probably the outcome of that feeling." For some interesting particulars regarding the Jenny Geddes tradition see Hill Burton's Hist. of Scotd., Vol. VI., pp. 150-2.

it clear once and for all that no king could hope to reign over Scotland and England again who was not himself ready to subscribe to the laws of the land.

It was during this unhappy time of storm and stress that the papers before us came to be written by men who were in the thick of the fray, and to whose action the present generation rests so deeply indebted for much of the large measure of political freedom with which our country is endowed to-day, even if the methods they adopted sometimes seem to have been provoked by the spirit of fanaticism rather than by any feeling of patriotism.

In Aberdeenshire strangely enough Episcopacy had taken firmer root than in any other part of Scotland, and the north-eastern county was therefore one of the first to receive the attention of the Presbyterian party, and it soon became in consequence the theatre of stirring events. After the Liturgy tumults had subsided an appeal was made to the King to allow the obnoxious book to be withdrawn, but Charles would not consent to this, and the leaders of the people felt themselves constrained to order their behaviour accordingly. On the last day of February, or the first day of March, in the year 1638, probably on both days,* the National Covenant or Confession of Faith of the Kirk of Scotland † had been signed in Greyfriars Church and Churchyard amidst a scene of the wildest enthusiasm. Although, probably an exaggeration, it has been said that as many as sixty thousand persons were gathered together in Edinburgh on this historic occasion which has been so well described in the following graphic lines :—

> Oh ! Arthur Seat gave back the shout of that assembled crowd,
> As one bare forth the mighty bond, and many wept aloud ;
> They spread it on a tombstone-head (a martyr slept beneath),
> And some subscribed it with their blood, and added, "until death."‡

To Archibald Johnston of Warriston belongs the credit of having conceived the idea of renewing the Covenant which operated like a cross of fire in rousing the people and summoning them to action.

---

* Mr Malcolm Laing and Dr Cook assign the date as the 1st of March, but the Earl of Rothes in his "Relation," and the Minutes of the subsequent Assembly, show that it was on the 28th of February. Davidson's Hist. Sketch 1849.

† The document itself was transcribed for signature by one, James Davie, said to have been a teacher in Edinburgh.

‡ Lays of the Kirk and Covenant, p. 77.

In the same year, on 21st November, the famous Glasgow Assembly met. This was the first General Assembly that had been held for thirty-six years, for although there had been six so-called Assemblies in the interval, these were so overruled by kingly influence that they were now proclaimed illegal and their proceedings nullified.* It passed an Act condemning the Service Book, the Book of Canons,† the Book of Ordination, and the Court of High Commission. Episcopacy was abjured, Presbytery restored, and the bishops were found guilty and excommunicated. It was at this Assembly that the Marquis of Argyle first definitely cast in his lot with the cause of the Covenant, and here he declared openly that he would sign it.

As Charles continued to maintain his attitude of dogged obstinacy, and the other side were as determined that they would not yield, the ground of quarrel between the King and his people rapidly widened. Early in 1639, a number of the castles and strongholds in Scotland were taken and occupied by the Covenanters, and when Charles advanced to the Borders with an army to compel them to surrender to his wishes,

* See Act 5, Paper No. VIII.

† By them the supremacy of the King and divine authority of the bishops in religious matters were affirmed, thus setting aside the entire ecclesiastical constitution of the country, while they prescribed in the liturgy a number of observances in the divine ordinances irreconcilable with the Scriptural accounts of their original institution. For administering Baptism, a fount was to be fixed near the church door, as in ancient times, and the water before being used was to be consecrated by prayer, and afterwards applied on the sign of the cross. For celebrating the Eucharist a table was to be placed at the chancel, covered with a handsome stuffed carpet, and during the sacred ceremony with a white linen cloth; the people were to receive the elements from the priests' hands in a kneeling posture, and what remained of the bread and wine were to be consumed by the poorer sort within the church, as being too sacred to be used on unconsecrated ground. All private meetings of Presbyters, or any other persons, for expounding the Scriptures or debating ecclesiastical subjects, were prohibited. No clergyman was to reveal what was told him in confession, unless the concealment of it endangered his own life. Bishops and presbyters who had no children were to leave their effects for pious uses, and those who had, were at least to bequeath large legacies to the Church. Thanks were then to be returned for departed saints, a number of whom had their names enrolled in the Scottish Kalendar.—*Aikman's Hist. Acct. of Covenanting in Scotd.*, 1851. Although the Scottish Liturgy differed little from the English, yet the Book of Canons, which ratified a Liturgy the people had never seen, was first published, and this enabled the opponents to organize a powerful and successful resistance. The Book of Canons appeared in 1636, and the Liturgy in 1637.—*Davidson's Hist. Sketch.* At the present moment, when so much is heard of "Covenant-breaking," it is well to bear in mind that the Westminster Confession of Faith as now recognised is not to be identified with the Confession of 1638, which was framed to bind the subcribers to the most absolute abjuration of Prelacy.

they assembled a force variously estimated at from twenty-four to thirty thousand men to oppose him. Placing themselves under the experienced leadership of General Alexander Leslie,* who had been invited home from Sweden for the purpose of directing the military operations of the Presbyterians, they marched south to Duns Law in the month of May to meet Charles, and there "they pitched ther tents in sight of the King and his armey, quho wer encamped one the southe syde of Tueed, at a place called the Brickes, some 3 miles from Berwick, vpe the riuer, with a far less armey (for he was not 12,000 men, horsse and footte), of wich Thomas, Earle of Arundaill and Surrey, was generall."† The appearance of the Scottish army on this occasion is said to have been a spectacle not less interesting to the military than edifying to the devout. Their banners were of blue, inscribed with the arms of Scotland wrought in gold, and bearing the motto, "For Christ's Crown and Covenant." The soldiers were summoned to religious exercise by beat of drum, and at sunrise and sunset, we are told, their tents resounded with the singing of psalms. On the other hand, that there was swearing and cursing and brawling in some quarters has not been denied, the truth probably being that the soldiers of the Covenant then gathered together in camp were not more distinguished either for their profanity or their piety than were the men they were prepared to fight. The "Pacification of Berwick," as the arrangement arrived at in the month of June has been named, caused both armies to be disbanded without coming to hostilities, but this was merely putting off the evil day.

During this time, Montrose,‡ who had been one of the first to sign the Covenant, and appeared still eager in its support, was in Aberdeenshire with the object of counteracting the influence of the Marquis of Huntly, who, backed by the Earl of Airlie, was exerting himself on behalf of the King. Montrose entered the city of Aberdeen§ on the 30th March, and Spalding describing the event states: "Heir it is to be nottit,

* Afterwards created first Earl of Leven, the celebrated General of the Presbyterian forces.

† Balfour's Annales. Vol. II., p. 324.

‡ General Leslie co-operated with Montrose in the north, but he went south on the 12th of April to lead the Scots army against Charles.

§ Aberdeen had good reason to remember Montrose, for now he was about to harass her citizens because they were Royalists, while on his return visit he was to treat them harsher still because they had become reconciled to the cause of the Covenant, but then he had changed also.

that few or none of this haill army wantit ane blew ribbin hung about his crag doun wnder his left arme, quhilk thay callit *the covenanteris ribbin*, becaus the Lord Gordoun and sum vtheris of the Marques barnes and famelie had ane ribbin, when he wes duelling in the toune, of ane reid flesche cullour, whiche thay weir in thair hatis, and callit *the royall ribbin*, as a signe of thair love and loyaltie to the King. In dispyt or derisioun quhairof, this blew ribbin wes worn, and called *the covenanteris ribbin* be the haill soldiouris of this army, and wold not heir of the royall ribbin, sic wes thair pryd and maleiss."* The point is peculiarly interesting because of the fact that blue has continued to be the Presbyterian colour down to the present day.

The zeal with which Montrose endeavoured to force the Covenant on those who would not sign it may be gauged by Spalding's remark that "The Lord knowis that thir tounes people wes brocht wnder periurie† for plane feir, and not from a willing mynd, by tirrany and oppressioun of thir covenanters, who compellit thame to sueir and subscrive, suppose thay knew it wes aganes thair hairtis."‡ And that the second part of his programme, which was to obtain sinews of war for his own side, was not less thoroughly observed is evidenced by the fact that the citizens were laid under a contribution of ten thousand merks, and forced to promise to bear a share in any future outlays that might become necessary for the good cause. On the 14th of May, the forces of Montrose and Huntly came into touch near Turriff, and a slight skirmish took place, which is chiefly memorable as being the occasion on which the first blood was spilt in the great Civil War. History has handed this incident down to us by the suggestive name of the "Trot of Turriff," the Marquis of Huntly having withdrawn his troops on finding himself taken at a disadvantage. Montrose now invited Huntly to a conference at Aberdeen under a safeguard, as is said, insuring his life and freedom. When Huntly came to the city he was hospitably entertained in the house of the Laird of Pitfodels,§ but ere long a pretext was found for having him arrested and sent prisoner to Edinburgh. Immediately thereafter, Huntly's second son, the Earl of Aboyne, took up arms for the king, and the Aberdonians were on the eve of another fight. Montrose

* Spalding. Vol. I., p. 154. In a curious Tract, entitled "An Unhappy Game At Scotch And English," bearing the Edinburgh imprint, and dated 1646, General Leslie is called "Metrapolitan over all the Blew Caps of Scotland."

† Perjury. ‡ Spalding, Vol. I., p. 165. § Sir Gilbert Menzies.

was busily engaged laying siege to the Castle of Gight when he heard that Aboyne had taken possession of Aberdeen, and he resolved to march against him at once. Joining forces with the Earl Marischal* Montrose attacked the Earl of Aboyne and totally defeated him at the Bridge of Dee on 19th June. The following satire, one of many published and circulated in Scotland during the period of the Civil War, deals with this episode and presents a curious picture of the manners of the age :—

A PASQUIL MADE AT THE BRIDGE OF DEE, QUHEN IT WAS WONE FROM THE ANTE-COVENANTERS OF THE NORTH.†

1

God bliss our Covenanters in Fyffe and Lothean,
In Angus and the Mearnis, quho did us first begin
With muskit and with carabin, with money speare and shield,
To take the toune of Aberdeen and make our Marques‡ yield.

2

God bliss Montrois our General,
The stout Earl of Kinghorne,
That wee may long liue and rejoyce
That euer they were borne.
The man yat hes ane eiuell § wyffe,
He prayes God to amend her,
That he may liue a quyat lyffe
And dye a Couenanter.

3

My Lord Aboyne hes tintis style
Vith maney a Northland man,
Quhen couarly they fled away
For all ther craft and can.
Quhen they caroussed at ye brigend
Drinkand their wyne and beaire,
The Couenanters leuche at theme,
And dranke ye watter cleir.

* The Earls Marischal and Kinghorn fought under Montrose at the Bridge of Dee.
† Maidments' Scotish Pasquils, 1826-8, Vol. I.-III., p. 137.
‡ Huntly. § evil.

4

I was a Couenanter
Long ere yat I came heire,
With my burnish't muskit,
And my bandeleire.
My 7 yells of Flanders matche,
And my sheiring suord,
At euery woley I did shote,
The limers yeul'd loud.

5

I purpois to begin
In wersse for record,
The commendation of our men
That trusted in ye Lord.
Pray for our Couenanters,
Quho still depenes one God,
Quho proued treuly to ye end,
And marched be south the rod.

6

The Laird of Bamffe* is taken ye sea,
His pilot for the Ruther,
And dars not come a land agane
For feare of Muskies mother.†
The Laird of Bamffe hes gotten ye jamffe,
And so did Gight ane other,
My Lord Aboyne, b . . . . h . . b . . . . . .
For feare of Muskie's mother.

7

The Prouests daughter of Aberdeine,
She is a sore lamenter,
And cursses her father he will not be
Ane honest Couenanter.
The Couenanters of ye South,
They'ar honest, stout and trewe,
And they haue woued ‡ both saule and lyffe
To burne fals Aberdeine.

* Sir George Ogilvy of Dunlugas, for his loyalty raised to the dignity of Lord Banff by letters patent dated 31st August, 1642.

† A cannon. ‡ vowed.

8

Muskies mother hes made a wow
That she will take her wenter,
And thunder throughe (the) brige of Dee
Led by a Couenanter.
The Couenanters that ye see
Come marching alongest ye grein,
Wer not for feare of God they say,
They vold plounder Aberdeine.

9

I had a beard as vther men,
But God reuard ye pouder,
He suers he's neuer cocke hes matche,
Nor muskit one hes shoulder.
While yat the dogs of Aberdeene,
Wich did cast vpe such trinches,
Themselues with speed fill vpe the same
To please our Couenanters.

10

The Douper dogs of Aberdeene,
Is fled and veighed their ankers,
They durst not byde into ther toune,
To feast ye Couenanters.
They left ther children and ther wyffes,
To reed yare reuelit zairne,
And cuckold-lyke fled for their liues
Unto ye Iyle of ferne.

The fate of Aberdeen now hung in the balance, for there was actually a consultation held as to whether the city should be razed to the ground, or if not what penalty should be exacted from it. Fortunately a pinnace arrived in the harbour from Berwick on the 20th, and before a decision had been come to, bringing letters from the King and the leader of the Covenanters, ordering all acts of hostility to cease on both sides, and intimating that the treaty was concluded. So Aberdeen was saved and the people who had left were free to come back to their homes.*

* Gordon's Scots Affairs, Vol. II., pp. 281-2.

In July, 1640, the Marquis of Argyle, acting on a commission of fire and sword issued by the Committee of Estates, was in the Highlands with an army of four thousand men, exacting pledges from those who were held to be "proven enemies of religion" under threats of cold steel, and it was then that he laid siege to the House of Airlie, which was defended by the Countess of Airlie in the absence of her husband. Finding that it would be impossible to reduce the fortress in the time at his disposal Argyle issued instructions for it to be burned to the ground. This incident which gave rise to one of the most popular and stirring of the Scottish Heroic Ballads, "The Bonnie House o' Airlie," has, rightly or wrongly, left a stain on the memory of Argyle that probably no lapse of time will ever wear out. But more pressing affairs in the south led to both Argyle and Montrose leaving the north, the latter to take up a command in the Scottish army then preparing to invade England, while Argyle remained behind at Edinburgh to pursue the paths of diplomacy, for which he was better fitted.

The movement in Scotland had now begun to find sympathy in England, and the Covenanters decided to re-assemble their army and station themselves on the Border, so as to be in readiness to march south if required.

General Robert Monro was meanwhile ordered to poor distracted Aberdeen, which he entered in May, 1640, at the head of a force of about one thousand foot, but he speedily obtained recruits to the number of five hundred more, with two troops of horse under a certain Captain Forbes. One of his first acts was to apprehend twenty-six of the citizens whom he could not persuade to subscribe the Covenant, and these he sent prisoners to Edinburgh. He next took possession of Strathbogie Castle, the House of Drum, and other important residences. Balfour gives the following account of his progress:—"From Spynie, Monro re-crossed the riuer Spey, and with all hostility plundred the Marques of Huntlies landes, tooke the castle of Strathbolgie, and putt a garisone in it. He tooke offe Huntlies landes tuo thousand horsse and catle, forby maney thousandes of sheepe, and therof keept ane opin markett at Strathbolgie, and solde them backe to ther ouners at 54 sh. Scottes the piece. From Strathbolgie he marches, the 2d of Agust, this same zeire, to Bamffe, quher he playes the deuill, and demolishes the Lord Bamffes housse, wich wes both faire and staitly, and a grate ornament to that pairte of the Kingdome. Heire I leue him plundring and destroying the policey of the land; and reducing all thesse that formerlie danced after

Huntlie and Bamffes fidling (quho called themselues the Kings frinds) to the obedience of the couenant."* Irvine of Drum, Gordon of Haddo, and many of the neighbouring lairds were arrested and also despatched to Edinburgh where they were kept in close custody, some of them being confined in the Tolbooth or common jail, and only liberated after months of imprisonment and on payment of heavy fines. The towns of Banff and Peterhead were occupied and the surrounding district already sorely impoverished, forced to contribute men, money, horses, and arms. But all this was accomplished only after a good deal of blood had been shed, the opponents of the Covenant being subjected to great hardship and oppression, for Munro's operations were conducted with much severity and with a single eye to the reduction of the country to a state that would render it absolutely unfit to offer any opposition whatever to the progress of presbyterianism in Scotland. It is of interest to note that Thomas Dalzell the younger of Binns, afterwards the notorious General Dalzell who is associated with Graham of Claverhouse and the Laird of Lag, as being the most blood-thirsty among the persecutors of the Covenanters in the reign of Charles II, accompanied General Monro to Aberdeen on his northern expedition, and we may rest assured that he was not one of the least active of his lieutenants. While Monro was in Aberdeen the General Assembly met in Greyfriars Church there on the 28th of July and sat till the 5th day of August, the Earl Marischal being a member as a ruling elder. This was the third and last occasion on which a General Assembly was held at Aberdeen. The first was in 1605 when John Forbes, A.M., minister at Alford, was moderator, but it was dissolved by command of the King and prohibited by Royal Proclamation. The second was in 1616 when Archbishop Spottiswood was Moderator. It was one of the six declared to be null and void by the Glasgow Assembly of 1638. The 1640 Assembly was chiefly noteworthy on account of an Act passed ordering the destruction of all idolatrous monuments, and which led to the demolition of many fine sculptured stones in Aberdeen. Spalding has the following curious paragraph at this time :—" Now at this generall assemblie thair wes agitat ane kynd of seruice, commounlie callit the *Famely of Love*, whiche wes keipit on the nicht be fameleis of men and wemen, haueing thir prayeris and thair owne deuotioun. This wes complanit vpone, as holdin in Edinbrugh and

* Annales, Vol. II. p. 382.

Striviling, and ordanit to be supprest."* Evidently the members of this Assembly were men who were determined "to stand no nonsense!"

On the 21st of August, 1640, the Scottish army, numbering some twenty-six thousand men, crossed the Tweed under the command of General Alexander Leslie who engaged the King's troops under Lord Conway, a great friend of Laud's, exactly one week later to the very day, and totally defeated them at Newburn on the Tyne, about five miles above Newcastle. This advantage gave him immediate possession of the northern English towns, and ultimately led to the Treaty of Ripon which however was not ratified till the following year. Montrose had charge of a division under General Leslie at Newburn and it has been claimed for him that to his skilful leadership the successful issue of the fight was in a large measure due, but the accuracy of that statement may be questioned. The Covenanters, however, were soon to feel that his power as a foe was equal to his strength as a friend. Charged with plotting against his great rival, Argyle, he and Lord Napier of Merchiston, with Sir George Stirling of Keir and Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall† were confined to Edinburgh Castle from June 1641 till January 1642. Montrose withdrew from public affairs after this until March 1643 when he went to Burlington to meet the Queen on her return from Holland. Not long afterwards he took the field on behalf of Charles and there ensued that remarkable series of brilliant and daring victories which although won for a losing cause has earned for him the title of the Great Marquis of Montrose, and made him one of the most picturesque figures of the period. His subsequent unfortunate death on the gallows‡ after suffering almost every indignity that could be inflicted upon him ended a career which has ever appealed to the imagination of the popular mind, notwithstanding the superior remark made by Pinkerton the historian that "Heroes are mighty cheap baubles in the eyes of people of reflection and knowledge of mankind."§ The following stanza written by Montrose at Brussels when he heard of the execution of Charles, is evidence that he could wield the pen with skill equal to the sword and proclaims the refinement of his mind.

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* Vol. I., p. 312.

† The Shaw-Stewarts of Blackhall and Greenock are the decendants of this Sir Archibald Stewart.

‡ As a special mark of degradation Montrose was hanged instead of being beheaded.

§ Pinkerton's Select Ballads Vol. II., p. 191 n.

Great, good, and just! could I but rate
My griefs to thy too rigid fate,
I'd weep the world to such a strain,
As it would deluge once again:
But since thy loud-tongued blood demands supplies,
More from Briareus' hand than Argus' eyes.
I'll sing thy obsequies with trumpet sounds,
And write thy epitaph with blood and wounds.

Charles, however, was not the man who should have called forth such hero-worship. He might have been styled "the Deceitful," for he played fast and loose with friend and foe alike, and he would have sacrificed his nearest relative to attain his own selfish ends. His views of sovereignty found expression in the assertion that "by the law of God and laws of all nations the person of the supreme and sovereign prince is, and ought to be sacred and inviolable, and he ought to be reverenced, honoured and feared as God's lieutenant on earth; and that all subjects are bound and tied in conscience to content themselves in humble submission to obey and reverence the person, laws, and authority of their supreme sovereign."* No wonder that he came to grief in the administration of his kingly office when he held such exaggerated ideas regarding the importance of his own position, and endeavoured to enforce them with the most uncompromising rigidity in all his dealings with his subjects whose very existence must have seemed to him to have been planned for his glorification.

On the conclusion of the Treaty of Ripon on 7th August, 1641, the Scottish army was disbanded, and for their sufferings and services the English agreed to pay the Scots the sum of £300,000 by way of "brotherly assistance," a step which did not escape severe criticism at the time and has not been overlooked since. While the prospect of war between the two countries had passed, Charles found his position becoming daily more difficult in London, and he resolved to hold a parliament in person in Scotland. Probably he was glad to have a change of any kind. It was at this Parliament in Scotland in August, 1641, that the King made public the news of the rebellion which had just broken out in Ireland, and which for bloodshed has been declared to have outrivalled the Sicilian Vespers or even the night of St Bartholomew.† The Scots Estates at once

* See State Trials, Vol. III.
† Hill Burton's Hist. of Scot., Vol. VI., p. 340.

offered to raise an army of ten thousand men to be drawn from the forces so recently dispersed, and to furnish three thousand stands of arms, on condition that the expense should be reimbursed by the English Parliament. The latter were greatly pleased with this friendly spirit displayed by the Scots, and requested the King to avail himself of the assistance tendered, for the relief of those parts of Ireland lying nearest to Scotland. After various delays arising from different causes, General Monro with five thousand men crossed over to Carrickfergus in the month of March, 1642, and doubtless Aberdeen was thankful to see the back of him. Before this force had been long in Ireland dissensions arose within its ranks and Monro experienced the greatest difficulty in keeping both officers and men under control. General Leslie accordingly followed him on 27th July with reinforcements, and assumed the chief command, but he returned to Edinburgh in November leaving Monro again in charge.

About the 5th of November this year Spalding tells us that "in ane seamanis hous of Peterheid, there wes hard, vpone the night, beatting of drums, vther times sounding of trvmpetis, playing on pifferis.,* and ringing of bellis, to the astoneishment of the heireris. Troubles follouit."† Evidently Peterhead was not free from responsibility for what happened in the country after this! During the first battles of the Civil War when excitement was universal throughout the land there were many rumours of prodigies and omens in circulation. Spalding relates that "Mr Androw Leitche, minister at Ellon, told me (anno 1643) that he, his wyf, and famelie, sitting at supper in his owne houss, hard tovking of drumis vivelie, sumtyme appeiring neir hand, sumtyme appeiring far off,"‡ and Chambers quoting from Patrick Gordon narrates of the same clergyman that happening to step out of his manse one night between twelve and one o'clock, "he did see the sun to shine, as if it had been midday, and, much astonished at so fearful a prodigy, he called up his bedral to see it also; and, lest the truth hereof should not win belief, he caused the bedral to raise a number of the neighbours from their beds, all which did testify the same, when the preacher was questioned about it by the committee sitting at Aberdeen."§ Ridiculous as all this nonsense may appear to us who have the good fortune to live in more enlightened days it must be remembered that superstition was rampant during the earlier

* Fifes. † Spalding Vol. II., p. 206. ‡ Ibid. p. 230.
§ Chalmers's Dom. Annals, Vol. II., p. 147.

half of the seventeenth century and that no class was free from its influence. The most common occurrences in individual experience were believed to be of supernatural significance and consequently swayed the minds of men at critical moments in defiance of all settled policy. Dreams were accepted as portents of the future, and atmospherical disturbances were viewed as omens that it would be little short of madness to disregard. The whole history of the period was coloured by this characteristic of the times and should be studied accordingly, as it helps us better to understand the why and the wherefore of many events which otherwise would seem to be well nigh beyond the scope of ordinary comprehension.

Enough has now been said to convey an idea of the state of affairs and of the condition of public feeling that prevailed in Scotland during the years 1639-1643 in which for the while we are more particularly interested. Former friends and near relatives found themselves fighting in opposite camps, and at different times the leaders of both parties rendered themselves liable to charges of high treason as one side or the other gained the mastery during the varying fortunes of the great Civil War. Charles himself, his erstwhile favourites Laud and Strafford, Montrose and Argyle, with many of lesser rank all suffered death at the ruthless hand of the executioner to gratify the political demands of the minute, and yet it came that by such methods freedom was evolved. But it is time to turn for a little and learn what can be gleaned regarding Lord Sinclair whose name comes so prominently before us.

Baron Sinclair, a title in the peerage of Scotland, was first conferred by act of Parliament of date the 26th January, 1489, upon Henry, son of William Sinclair, himself the son of William, third earl of Orkney, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, by his first wife, the Lady Margaret Douglas, eldest daughter of the fourth earl of Douglas and Duke of Touraine. This William Sinclair received from his father the barony of Newburgh in Aberdeenshire, in which he was infeft on 16th March, 1450, so that originally the family by inches, so to speak, missed having a connection with the Buchan district. In 1470 the father of William Sinclair resigned the Earldom of Orkney to James III., and later was styled Earl of Caithness. The latter title descended to the Earl's second son, William Sinclair, by his second marriage with Marjory, daughter of Alexander Sutherland of Dunbeath. A younger son, Sir Oliver Sinclair of Roslin, received from his father large estates, but the settlement was disputed by

William Sinclair of Newburgh who, as the eldest son, had an undoubted grievance, and a compromise resulted. Sir Oliver relinquished to him the lands of Cousland in Midlothian, with the barony of Dysart and the Castle of Ravenscraig in Fife, and the lands of Dubbo, Carberry, and Wilston lying adjacent thereto. These had been bestowed on the Earl their father on his resigning the Earldom of Orkney. William Sinclair of Newburgh, and his eldest son Henry, on their part renounced all claim to the barony of Roslin, by indenture dated 9th February, 1482.* This son Henry, as has been said, was created Lord Sinclair in 1489, and it was at his request that Gawain Douglas translated the Ænid of Virgil into Scots. He fell at the disastrous battle of Flodden on 9th September, 1513, and from him John, the seventh Lord, with whose papers we are at present concerned, was descended. This John was born on the 29th October, 1610, and early took an active interest in public affairs. He signed the Covenant in 1638 and was a member of the Committee of Estates in 1641 and again in 1644 and 1645, while his name frequently appears on Parliamentary Commissions appointed to consider and deal with matters affecting the welfare of the kingdom. Lord Sinclair acted as Colonel in the Scottish army that crossed the Border under General Leslie in 1639, and which brought about the Treaty of Berwick. In 1640 he was deputed to go to the north to assist in maintaining the Covenant in and around Aberdeen, and while there he made repeated visits to Edinburgh in order that he might give special information to the Committee of Estates and receive instructions as to the course of policy to be pursued in the north. Lord Sinclair arrived in Aberdeen on the 18th of May, accompanied by only sixteen horse, and remained overnight in Skipper Anderson's house after having "commandit the prouest to watche his lodging all nicht, quhilk wes done"† This Skipper Anderson's House was a principal place of entertainment in the city and where, by the way, the Earl Marischal commonly put up when he came to Aberdeen from his castle at Inverugie. On the following morning Lord Sinclair resuming his journey rode on in the direction of Caithness, where as one of the tutors, or guardians, of the young Earl of Caithness, then but two years old, he would naturally be expected to be able to exert a considerable degree of influence. That this surmise was not far wrong is borne out by the fact that when Lord Sinclair returned

* Anderson's Scottish Nation. Vol. III.
† Spalding, Vol. I., p. 269.

to Aberdeen from Caithness on 22nd October, instead of sixteen horse he had with him a following of five hundred men. These Spalding tells us were quartered in New Aberdeen by Lord Sinclair, who "leaving sum moneyis with commissare Farquhar for there mantenans, and haistellie rydis south, to receave orderis fra the committee of estaitis; bot befoir he cam bak agane his allowanss wes spent, and the soldiouris put to there schiftis. Abirdene wold grant thame no quarteris, since the collonell maister of Forbes regiment wes alreddie quarterit thair; quhairvpone ilk soldiour began to deall and do for him self. Sum cam over to the Oldtoun, quhair thay gat nothing bot hunger and cauld; vtheris spredis throw the countrie heir and thair about the toun, speciallie to papistis landis, plundering thair food both horss meit and manis meit quhair thay micht get it, to the gryt greif of the countrie, and to Abirdein also."* The reins of power seem to have been left in firm enough hands during Lord Sinclair's absence but lawlessness nevertheless continued to prevail, the predatory instincts of the north country men probably proving too strong for the restraints and discipline of garrison life in a strange town. On 20th November one of Lord Sinclair's regiment who had endeavoured to steal home to his wife and family was caught in the act of making off, and without "dome or law" hanged between the crosses of Aberdeen on a wooden "mare" which had been erected there by General Monro to be used for the punishment of offenders. This "Jeddart justice" was carried out by orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Sinclair, who was afterwards cashiered "for this cruell deid, done when my lord himself wes in Edinbrugh."† On the 19th of December another of Lord Sinclair's soldiers was taken to the "heiding hill" and there shot by command of the Committee of Estates for having caused the death of a fellow soldier. This example according to the observant Spalding "maid better ordour to be keipit amongis them in the toun."‡ About this time Lord Sinclair returned to Aberdeen and began to hold meetings daily. On the 9th of March, 1641, he sent his brother, Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable Henry Sinclair with a party of two hundred men to Moray, Ross, Caithness, and Sutherland to obtain recruits with "the tenths and tuenteithis of these countreis,"§ and who returned on the 3rd of May bringing with him one hundred additional men. The tenths and twentieths referred to represent the money levies appointed to be

* Spalding, Vol. I., p. 351. † Ibid., Vol. I., p. 354. ‡ Ibid., Vol. I., p. 374.
§ Ibid., Vol. II., p. 6.

raised by the authority of the Committee of Estates. In his own quaint way Spalding tells how Lord Sinclair's soldiers were maintained in Aberdeen, thus, "Frydday, 19th Marche, the Lord Synkler sendis out ane pairtie of soldiouris from Abirdein, to leive vpone the Laird of Lethinteis landis and leiving, whill he sould cum in and pay to his lordschip 3000 merkis of fyne, quhilk the laird thocht havie, for he had payit abefoir, to this same regiment, 600 merkis, and thay had plunderit fra him his best horssis, worth alss mekill. Howsoeuer, he is compellit to cum in and agrie with his lordschip, and so wes maid quyte of the soldiouris, who had schortlie herryit his ground if he had not agreit."* Truly the Aberdonian had fallen on evil times. In consequence of a letter written by General Leslie and published by order of the Committee of Estates Lord Sinclair convened a meeting of the "barronis and gentrie" which was held in the tolbooth of Aberdeen on 29th April, 1641, when orders were given to the commissioners appointed throughout the parishes to record the names of all the fencible "men" betwixt the ages of sixteen and sixty. On Sunday, 2nd May, Lord Sinclair suddenly and without warning set out on horseback for Edinburgh at three o'clock in the morning. This most probably was in connection with Montrose's affairs which were now engaging the attention of the Committee of Estates, for on the 13th June, Spalding relates how "Lord Sinckler cam to the place of old Montross, be directioun of the committe of Estaites at Edinbrugh, and thair violentlie brak wp the yetis and durris thairof, enterit the houss, serchit and socht the haill cofferis, kistis, and trvnkis within the samen, efter thay war all brokin wp, to sie what missives or letteris pertening to the Erll of Montross, or ony of his friendis, micht be found, becauss his wreitis lay in this houss. Thay took to Edinbrugh with thame also the erllis secretar, callit Lamby, to try what he kend."† It was not till the 3rd of July that Lord Sinclair returned to Aberdeen and then he did not make a long stay. On this occasion he gave instructions that his regiment, numbering as has been said, about five hundred men, should live in free quarters within the city, but this entailed no permanent hardship as the inhabitants concerned received payment for their outlays in the month of August by orders of the "Tables." At this time Lord Sinclair had Johne Alschoner, servitor to the Earl of Seaforth, apprehended and sent to Edinburgh along with a number of letters that were found upon

* Spalding, Vol. II., p. 7.
† Ibid., Vol. II., p. 51.

his person. Seaforth was then under suspicion of disloyalty to the Covenant, but nothing could be discovered to justify any steps being taken against him. Lord Sinclair next left Aberdeen about the 12th of July to be present at the opening of Parliament by the king on the 15th, his regiment still remaining behind, and he did not return till the 22nd January of the following year, 1642, and then only to prepare for a final leave-taking. Mr Robert Farquhar, the Commissary, who was charged with settling the accounts due for the entertainment of the soldiers gave great offence to the people by paying them with "auld myttie meal." Lord Sinclair's regiment by this time had dwindled down to some two hundred and sixty men which was all that could be mustered when they drew up at the cross on the 9th of February to march south, and Spalding, who had an eye for everything, tells us that they left Aberdeen ill-paid, "for this Farquhar outit his myttie meill upone the honest people of the toun at ane heighe price, for the good intertenement thay had furneshit with moneyes out of thir purposs."* Evidently Farquhar was a traditional specimen of an Aberdonian and not the genuine article. Lord Sinclair with his regiment accompanied General Monro to Ireland in the beginning of March, where for a time he was Governor of the Newry, but in the month of July he was back in Scotland taking part in the deliberations of the General Assembly which met at St Andrews and of which he was a member.† I have been unable to ascertain whether Lord Sinclair went back to Ireland, but he was present again at the General Assembly held at Edinburgh in 1643, and later in this same year he was dispatched by the Committee of Estates with "3 troups of new levied horse and six hundred foot" to augment the forces of General Leslie, who, with his nephew David Leslie, afterwards Lord Newark, was preparing to march into England for the second time with a Scottish army. He was a member of the Committee of Estates in 1644 and 1645, and on 21st June of the former year an Act was passed "ordaining the comissarey, William Thomsone, to pay to the Lord St. Claire 20,000 merkes."‡ Lord Sinclair was present at the siege of Newcastle in 1644, and General Leslie's letter of 18th October to the Governor, stating conditions for the surrender of the town, contained the following sentence:—"Whereunto if you agree, I desire that you send to my lord Sinclair, his quarters at Sandgate, to

* Spalding, Vol. II., p. 101. † Baillie's Letters, Vol. II., p. 45.
‡ Balfour's Annales, Vol. III., p. 191.

morrow, being the 19th of October, at or before six o'clock in the morning, four or five hostages, for delivery of the town upon these conditions by Monday, the 21st, at two o'clock in the afternoon." The conditions offered by General Leslie amounted to a safe convoy to the garrison, who were to be allowed to march out with arms and baggage, and full protection to the town and its inhabitants.* Up to this point Lord Sinclair had been a most indefatigable supporter of the Covenant, but ere long signs began to appear that would seem to indicate that his faith was now wavering. On the 21st February, 1645, Mr John Fletcher was examined before Parliament for being concerned in Ogilvie's escape, and he had implicated Lords Carnegie, Sinclair, and Kirkcudbright.† In the following year we find that Lord Sinclair, being examined before Parliament, " was by the housse exonered and discharged of that charge against him for trincatting at Hereford with the enimey."‡ I have been unable to discover the precise moment at which Lord Sinclair finally severed his connection with the Covenanters, but in all probability it was in 1648, when he, along with many others of his side, entered into the " Engagement" for the rescue of Charles, then a prisoner in Carisbrook Castle in the Isle of Wight. This project, although backed up by the Committee of Estates, ended in a ghastly failure, and those who took part in it and failed to make their peace with the successful party headed by Argyle were forced to flee the country. Among these was Lord Sinclair, and on the 18th of May, 1650, his name was inserted in an act commonly known as the Act of Classes, excluding divers persons from entering the Kingdom" from bezond the seas, with his Maiestie, vntill they giue satisfactione to the churche and stait."§ Twelve days later, on the 30th May, the Marquis of Argyle came down to Parliament and intimated the capture of Captain Hall's frigate with many secret papers and letters belonging to his former rival, the Great Marquis of Montrose who had been beheaded on the 21st of the same month, being then only thirty-eight years of age. A number of the letters were read in the house, and these included " one directed to his Excellence, James, Marques of Montrois, from Amsterdam, wrettin all with the Lord St Clair's auen hand, of the dait 13 Februarij, 1650 ; quherin he wretts to him that he was his humble seruant, and vold

* Wright's Hist. of Scotd., Vol. V., p. 42.
† Balfour's Annales, Vol. III., p. 279.
Ibid, Vol III., p. 365.
Ibid, Vol. IV., p. 14.

with all earnestnesse prosecutte thesse ends proposed by his Excellencey to install the King in his throne, &c. quhom the rebells had detruded; and as for himselue, (he wretts) he did euidently see that ther was no other way to effectuat the same, bot by the suord. And that the Scotts trettey with the King was bot a trape to catche him in; with maney other opprobious speaches against the kingdome."* The Parliament ordered this letter of Lord Sinclair's to be marked, produced in parliament, and to be used as a proof for drawing up a process of "forfaultrie" against him. He was heavily fined, for on the 1st of June, the Laird of Lawers petitioned the Committee of Estates that he might have Lord Sinclair's fine assigned to him for payment of 58,000 pounds Scots due to him.† This was a common enough method by which the State then discharged its debts, and three days afterwards we accordingly find that Lord Sinclair's fine was assigned "to Dr Sharpes wyffe, the Laird of Lawers, and Mr James Campbell, provost of Dumbarton." Lord Sinclair accompanied Charles II. to England in 1651, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Worcester, when he was ordered to be committed to the Tower for being of the party of Charles Stuart, a declared traitor. He was excepted from Cromwell's act of grace and pardon in 1654, and with various occasional enlargements in consideration of the precarious nature of his health he remained a prisoner, first in the Tower of London, and afterwards at Windsor Castle, until set free by General Monk in March, 1660. In the account of forfeited estates in 1655, the yearly value of Lord Sinclair's estate is given as £906 17s 4d, and his debts as £1660 10s 6d.‡ In 1661 he was chosen a member of the Privy Council of Scotland, and in the same year when the "Protesters" were seized and carried off to prison for having dared to remind the new King of his Covenant obligation, he exercised his interest on behalf Mr Patrick Gillespie, Principal of Glasgow University, whose name appears in several of Lord Sinclair's papers, and who is said to have been related to him, with the result that Gillespie escaped with only the sequestration of his living. Other ministers were not so fortunate. James Guthrie was condemned to the scaffold, and his head was sent to adorn the Netherbow Port, while Samuel Rutherford, against whom a prosecution had also been commenced, died before he could be brought to trial, or

* Balfour's Annales, Vol. IV., pp. 32-33.
† Ibid., Vol. IV., p. 40.
‡ Dict. Nat. Biog.

probably he would have shared the same cruel fate. In that well-known covenanting volume called Naphtali, it is stated that Lord Sinclair was one of the examiners appointed, by order of the Secret Council in November, 1666, to inquire into the case of Mr Hew M'Kail, the martyr, and that when the accused was about to answer questions he was advised by Lord Sinclair "to beware that he subscribed nothing whereof the contrary might be found true, lest it might therefore fare the worse with him."* After 1666 Lord Sinclair seems to have lived in comparative retirement, and he died in 1676 in the sixty-sixth year of his age. By his wife, Lady Mary Wemyss he had an only daughter, the Honourable Catherine Sinclair, who was his sole heiress. She was married at Glasgow on 14th April, 1659, to John St Clair, younger of Herdmanstoun, Haddingtonshire, and there were two sons and one daughter born of the marriage, the elder son succeeding his grandfather in 1676 as eighth Lord Sinclair. The Honourable Catherine Sinclair predeceased her father on 13th July, 1666, dying in child-bed of her daughter. It is hard at this distance of time, and with the meagre information at our command to determine the reasons that induced the seventh Lord Sinclair to change from Covenanter to Royalist, but it is possible that he felt that in England the crusade against the King was in 1648 being pushed further than he cared to be associated with, and we know many other Scotsmen were similarly influenced, they holding on to the hope that matters might still be arranged without proceeding to the last extremity of dethroning their sovereign. He certainly was one of those who were carried away by the promises contained in the overtures made by Charles while the latter was lying a prisoner in Carisbrook Castle, and which resulted in the "Engagement." In any case, Lord Sinclair seems to have been an upright and honourable man, who was treated with open respect by both friend and opponent at a time when that experience was rare, and we may safely assume that he left the Covenanting cause, with which he had been so closely connected, only after careful heart searching, and in the conviction that he was taking the step that promised best for the future of his country.

In transcribing Lord Sinclair's papers, I have thought it best to retain the spelling as it appears in the originals, and I must here state my indebtedness to the Rev. Henry Paton, M.A., Edinburgh, who very kindly compared the transcriptions for me.

*Naphtali, 1693 edit., pp 357-8.

PAPER No. I.

To my honno'ble good Lord | My Lord Sinclair | Theis.

My Lord

I receavit yor Lo | lre* and am most glad that you are coming heir, as ffor this cuntrey people that went not on in the gennerall bussines ar all now com and subscryvit† the gennerall band‡ and ar willing to contrubuit and bestow both lyfes and fortounes for the weilfear of the Kingdome and Cuntrey, both papist and protestant hes gon on sua yor Lo | will be pleasit to shaw yor freinds in the South of this, as for orknay I receavit lres out of it shawing that they expectit comissiouners with ovirtouris and to thair power they wold all go on and contrubuit for the weill of the kingdoome and cuntrey. I hoip the Laird of mey and I shall work thinges to yor Lo | contentment I assure yor Lo | thair shall be nothing to my outer power but I shall doe for yor Lo | yesterday I have hurt my leg be ane ffall that I am not able to stur yitt howsoewir adverteis me befoir yor coming and I shall com to meit you als ffar as I can qr I shall acquent yor Lo | of all businesis Sua wishing yor Lo | a happie voyage§ I am

yor Lo | humble syrvant

JA SINCLAIR

Murkill the 29
of April 1640

[This letter is written by Sir James Sinclair of Murkle, Caithnessshire, who was appointed Sheriff Principal of Caithness in 1633 in succession to his father on the death of the latter. He had evidently been advertised of Lord Sinclair's coming to Caithness and writes here assuring him of the sympathy and support of the people both there and in Orkney, and of the hearty co-operation of Sir William Sinclair and himself. The main point of interest is the evidence afforded that Caithness generally was favourable to the cause of the Covenant irrespective of creed, and that pledges had been received from Orkney indicating that there would be no difficulty so far as the islanders were concerned. The representative of an old Caithness family, Sir William Sinclair, of Mey, was he who, while attending the High School of Edinburgh, shot Bailie John Macmoran in the course of a schoolboy's riot, "so that he fell

* Letter. † Signed. ‡ Bond or Covenant. § A pleasant journey.

backward straight to the ground, without speech at all." That was in 1595. Sir William was arrested and imprisoned in the Tolbooth, but through the influence of the third Lord Sinclair he was liberated after a short period of confinement. Bailie Macmoran's house is still standing in Riddell's Close in the Lawnmarket, Edinburgh, where it is pointed out as an object of interest to the visitor. According to Calderwood "he was the richest merchant in his time, but not gracious to the common people." Sir William Sinclair died in 1643.]

PAPER No. II.

For my very hono'll | Lord | My Lord Sinclaire | these

My noble Lord

I can not but regraitte the many rubs and difficulties you have encountered in your voyage, and the more yt during your stay there it is more likly they sall rather increasse nor diminish, for having no forces of your owin nor any you can lippin* in (qk maks you depend altogether upon there resolutions) puts yo in yt conditione you ar alwayes in there reverence† and never able wt out ther helpe to pforme any thing yt may tend to the settill and peace of yt cuntrey, but my only hopes is yt you sall not mak long stay there for the Generall told me he wold send for you and to bring a regiment allong wt you, qk in my judgment wilbe the best meanes to settill yt schyre, for taking a regiment out of able men I think the rest yt stayes behind wilbe the lesse abill to doe hurt. They ar lifting their regiments heir and going to the south wt all diligence, wee hade a litle rub in this schyr anent the sending out of our men. The Generall gave me orders to come out wt the fourt man of my divisione and notwithstanding of the Generalls orders the schyre be my lord of Montrois instigaone wald not suffer me to goe but wald have the holl men of this schyre to goe out under My lord Montrois quher with the Generall and Committe at Edinbr wer very displeased and has both writtin to the schyre schawing them yt it is absolutly in the Generalls power to call out qm he pleases, and so god willing I intend to march on monday nixt, and in opposing me in this bussines none so

* Trust. † Power.

violent as the maister of Gray* and the young Constabill.† The old Constabill‡ is in Edinbr keiped in ane chalmer wt a guard of musquetiers, and is fyned in fourtie thousand marks. I have many other pticularis to have written to you but apprehending the letters may miscary maks me differ any further to meitting quhich I long for and heartily wish may be als sooune as the cveniencie of your bussines may pmitt Sua wishing you the increasse of all treu happines I continow now and ever sall

Kynnaird 7 Junij
1640

Your faithfull cowsigne
and servant
CARNEGIE

Suffer these to remember
my best love to Sr James Sinclaire
and to my broyr your Major, and schaw
him his wyffe came to this cuntrey summe
sax weikes agoe and is in very good health

[This letter written from Kinnaird Castle near Brechin by James, Lord Carnegie, and afterwards second Earl of Southesk, is addressed to Lord Sinclair then in Caithness whither he had gone from Aberdeen accompanied by only sixteen horse. Lord Carnegie sympathises with Lord Sinclair's difficulties in advancing the cause of the Covenant and suppressing the efforts of its opponents in a district where he has no forces other than those he has been able to raise locally and whose feelings would require constant consideration while their services were being utilised in their own neighbourhood and it might be against their own kin. The suggestion that to bring a regiment out of the shire would best promote peace within it as those left behind would be less able to do injury is distinctly quaint. The General mentioned is General Alexander Leslie. The letter clearly indicates that even at this early stage there

* William, Master of Gray, son-in-law of Andrew, eighth Lord Gray, a staunch loyalist. He was killed by Lord Carnegie, writer of the above letter and by that time Earl of Southesk, in a duel near London in August 1660. Sir William Fraser in his History of the Carnegies inclines to the view that instead of a duel the encounter was merely an exercise of arms between two practised swordsmen in which the Master of Gray was accidentally killed by Lord Southesk.

† John, grandson of Sir John Scrimgeour, (see n. ‡.). He was created Earl of Dundee 8th September 1660.

‡ Sir John Scrimgeour, eleventh Constable of Dundee in succession, and Royal Standard-bearer. He was elevated to the peerage by Charles I. who conferred upon him the titles of Baron Scrimgeour of Inverkeithing and Viscount of Dudhope, by patent dated 15th November, 1641. The Scrimgeours adhered to the Royal cause

was a good deal of personal feeling rankling in the breasts of the district leaders of the Covenanters, and points to evident rivalry between Montrose and General Leslie who was making arrangements for his first invasion of England, and which resulted in the Treaty of Ripon. The reference to Montrose gains in interest when it is remembered that he was married to a daughter of the Earl of Southesk, and that he therefore stood in the relationship of brother-in-law to Lord Carnegie. The latter had acted as a commander in Montrose's army to the north in 1639 and he now went with his regiment to serve under General Leslie in England, and it fell to him to guard the baggage on the opposite side of the river at the battle of Newburn. At the time the letter was written preparations were being hurried on in all directions for providing Leslie with the army which he commanded on that occasion, and Lord Carnegie states what was being done in his district, and intimates his determination to go south himself (Dunglas was the place of meeting) in spite of all difficulties put in his way. He afterwards turned a Loyalist and supporter of Charles, became a Privy Councillor and a Sheriff of Forfarshire. Of Lord Carnegie some curious stories and traditions have been preserved. He was noted for his parsimony which gave rise to the following sarcastic lines written on the occasion of some depredations to his property:—

> The Laird of Pittarrow, his hart was sae narrow
> He wadna let the kaes pyke his corn stack;
> But bye there came knaves, and pykit up thraives,
> And what said the Laird of Pittarrow to that!

He was believed to have studied the black art at Padua in a class with the devil as instructor. It was part of the agreement that the devil should claim annually the last pupil to leave the room when the class was finally dismissed for the session. In order that all might have an equal chance of escape the class was ranged in a line within the school, and on a given signal all rushed to the door and the devil took the hindmost. On one occasion Lord Carnegie was last, but having invoked the devil to take his shadow which was the object left last, the devil taken with the idea, seized the shadow instead of the substance. Afterwards it was observed that Lord Carnegie never had a shadow and that to hide this want he usually walked in the shade.

At Lord Carnegie's death his Satanic Majesty was popularly believed to have carried him away in a coach and six and to have flung his body into a well near the family burying ground. The adjoining valley

thereafter came to be known as the Devil's Den. On stormy nights, it was said, the Earl sometimes drove past his former house in the equipage provided for him by his friend, the devil.]

PAPER No. III.

For | My verie nobill | Guid Lord | my | Lord Sinclair.

My verie nobill good lord

I receavit and hes considerit the samen, thes reportes you hard ar going current in this same countrey, and manie ydle speiches but* anie sure grownd or warrand, it is true that the amunitione is taken from castell sinclair be the earle of cathnes, he had verie few to asist him in yt actione except some feue domestickes and theis wer rather witnesses then actores non of them wald lay hand vpon anie of the amunitione, qr at he grudgit and minacit them so farre as I can learn they ar lying in Keise vnsteirit† or vndistributit so iff the earle of seafort come to the countrey he hes promisit to give him contentment bothe for the taking of the keyes of castell sinclair and the amunitione ther hes beine muche speaking of frances intendit hunting, heir amongst our selves he imployit sundries to have gon withe him such as the yong men of the countrey and some of the heades of the clanes, all the honest men refusit him or excusit themselves, his greatest number wes not thrie score and yt of the comonest sort, who yor lo | wreates yt you have receavit ordours for driving men out of our neighbor shyres for suppressing the opposers of yor imployment, in my weak judgement it sall not be necessar ye draw our neighbors to suche trouble or travell, nor our countrey to suche charges as to bring in anie except the earle of seafort who hes entres for the maister of barridailes affaires & debts, for my selfe I will assure yor lo | iff I knew or thocht yt yo wald receave anie oppositione or yt anie wald presse to rubbe anie afront vpon yow, yo suld not onlie have my advyse to oppose the samen with credit, but my persone and meines sall be reddie to undergo qtsomever Danger in yor Defence & advancement of yor comissione and Imployment, ther is a meiting betuix my lord barridaile, the laird of mey, ‡ sir Georg, Murkell & myself vpon wednesday the 24 of

* Without. † Untouched.
‡ Sir William Sinclair of Mey.

this instant anent some affaires stanstell vho maried a daughter of myne, at qlk tyme we sall speak and advyse among our selves anent yor lo | affaires to the qlk, and ever I rest

yor faithful cousing
and servant
J. SINCLAIR

Dunbeathe
June 22
1640

my lord, efter ye wryting to yir presentis, ye berrer david sinclair is to giv, I find be ane letter of my brotheris, yt or freind hes met and concludit as they have wrytin to your lo | qr to I assent, and so yt I rest

youris cusing
and seruand
J. SINCLAIR

[Sir John Sinclair of Dunbeath, Caithness-shire, who acquired the lands of Dunbeath from Lord Forbes in 1624, is the writer of the foregoing letter to Lord Sinclair. He gives a detailed account of all that was going on in and around his neighbourhood at the time. Some of the references are very curious, particularly that dealing with the removal of ammunition from Castle Sinclair, formerly called Girnigo, and for long the chief residence of the Earls of Caithness. The Earl of Caithness then was a thorn in the flesh to both parties in the State as he was utterly unscrupulous and could be trusted by no one, not even by his own family. The Earl of Seaforth was in arms for the Covenant but he was not a very enthusiastic supporter of the good cause. "Francis" was probably the son of the Earl of Caithness, who apprehended the young Laird of Drum in 1644, and conveyed him to Edinburgh, where he was confined in the Tolbooth, The "earle of Seafort" mentioned was George, second Earl of Seaforth, a rather lukewarm supporter of the Covenant. In June 1646 he was excommunicated by the General Assembly for having joined the Marquis of Montrose, although he excused himself by stating that he had yielded to Montrose only through fear, and promised to remain faithful to the Covenant till death. Spalding, who was a partisan, thus describes his action, "Bot Seafort wes thocht to be ane perfidious traittour, who, efter he wes deiplie suorne be Montross to the Kingis seruice, and vpone his paroll had gottin libertie to go home, quhair as Montross micht haue keipit him still in his company, yit, forgetting his oath maid befoir God,

his deutie to his prince, and this noble man his Majesteis generall, he lap in to the vther syd." After the death of the King in 1649, the Earl joined Charles II. in Holland. He died in 1651.

PAPER No. IV.

for | The Noble and much honored | Lord | The Lord Sinclare

Noble lord

We have heard the relatioun of mr Patrick gillespie of yor Lo: proceidingis in these pairtis whairin we find yor Lo: hes done all that could be done in every particuler and are very weill pleased with yor Lo: resolutionis and cariage of bussines in every place Especially that in Cathnes mr Patrick related to the full every particuler conteynt in yor Lo: instructionis to him And for satisfactioun to some desyres thairin we have delyvered to mr Patrick instructionis to yor Lo: with ane band of vnioun* to be submit to all in these places. We have writtin to the lord Berridaill† to whome we think or selffis very far bound and hes desyrit his Lo: to comunicat with you in all thingis concerneing the weill of that countrey we have lykewayes written to the Earles of Sutherland and Seafort and comitty of warre in Murray That yor Lo: may have a regiment out of Orkney Cathnes Sutherland Innernes‡ and Murray in such number as is conteyned in the instrucnis or such vther number as by comone consent shal be found fitting and that regiment to be in readines (so soone as the countrey of Cathnes and Orkney are satled) to come southe or goe to suche places as the Generall sall comand we remitt all vther thingis to the next occasioun and sall remayne

yor Lo: affectionat freindis
to serve you

Edgr third July 1640.

ROTHES DUNFERMELYNE
J. BALMERINOCK BURGHLY NAPER

[The above letter is addressed to Lord Sinclair by a Committee constituted by the Privy Council. It approves of his conduct of affairs

* See Paper No. V.
† Eldest son of the Earl of Caithness. He married a daughter of the third Lord Sinclair.
‡ Inverness.

in the north and promises him such assistance as he may require and mentions the "Band of Union" which forms one of this collection of papers as having been handed to Mr Patrick Gillespie to be taken to Lord Sinclair apparently at the latter's request in order that he might secure written pledges from those in Caithness. Patrick Gillespie was brother to George Gillespie, the famous Scottish divine. He succeeded Robert Douglas as minister in Kirkcaldy in 1642, was translated to the outer High Kirk, Glasgow, and in 1653 was elected Principal of the University of Glasgow. It has been said that no one in Scotland had more influence with Cromwell than Principal Gillespie, and that he was the first minister who publicly prayed for him. The following particulars regarding the five noblemen who comprise the Committee may be of some interest:—

I.—John, fifth Earl of Rothes, the great Covenanter, who figured so conspicuously in the history of his period. A man of great natural ability, he was one of the principals employed in the preparation of the National Covenant which was signed in the Greyfriars Church and churchyard in 1638. Rothes is supposed to have been the nobleman who, when he saw the mob pelting the Earl of Roxburgh's coach which contained Bishop Lindsay and the Earl, on their way to Holyrood after the uproar caused by the attempt to introduce the Liturgy, said:—"I will write to the king and tell him that the Court here is changed, for my Lord Traquair used ever before to get the best following, but now the Earl of Roxburgh and the Bishop of Edinburgh have the best backing." The Earl of Rothes died at Richmond-on-Thames on 23rd August, 1641 soon after he had been awarded by Parliament a pension for life, and to his heirs and assignees, of £10,000 Scots, and just when great efforts were being made to win him over to the Royalist side. The following scurrilous pasquil taken from Maidment's Collection was flung down at Lord Rothes' lodging when he was about to go up from Newcastle to London as one of the Commissioners from Scotland to end the Ripon treaty:—

> Doe ze not know quho layes in this corner?
> It's a Scotts Ambassador extraordinar—
> Doe ze not know quhat he came heir about?
> To save thesse unhanged that himselue hundit out.
> Ladayes, I requyst you, keep from ye vall,
> Or ye Scotts Ambassador will occupey you all.

II.—Charles Seton, second Earl of Dunfermline was also a zealous

supporter of the Covenant. He was on several occasions appointed to special commissions by Parliament, and he commanded a regiment in the Scots Army which, headed by General Leslie, crossed the Tweed to England on 21st August, 1640. He was also Governor of Durham while it was held by the Scots. After the Restoration he was made an extraordinary Lord of Session, and later he held the office of Lord Privy Seal. He died in 1673.

III.—John, second Lord Balmerino, who had been restored to the peerage by letter under the Great Seal in 1613. After the accession of Charles I. he became conspicuous for his opposition to the Government, and in 1634 he was confined in Edinburgh Castle, charged with circulating a "scandalous libel" among His Majesty's lieges, which "depraved the laws, and misconstrued the proceedings of the King and the late Parliament—so seditious that its thoughts infected the very air—a cockatrice which a good subject should have crushed in the egg," so the high-sounding indictment ran. He was convicted in 1635, and sentenced to be beheaded, but the Earl of Traquair, fearing a public tumult, hastened to London and obtained a remission. Lord Balmerino, however, was detained prisoner for thirteen months, and then was only liberated conditionally. On 18th August, 1641, he was nominated President of the Parliament. He died of apoplexy on 28th February, 1649, and was interred in the burial-place of the Logan family, a vaulted aisle supported with pillars adjoining the old church of Restalrig. Scot of Scotstarvet, states that "the English army, at their coming to Scotland in *anno* 1650, expecting to have found treasure in that place, hearing that there was lead coffins there, raised up his dead body, and threw it on the streets, because they could get no advantage or money where they expected so much." Lord Balmerino's name is included in Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors.

IV.—This was Robert Arnot, son of Sir Robert Arnot of Fernie, Chamberlain of Fife. He married Margaret, only child of Michael, first Lord Balfour of Burleigh. Assuming the name of Balfour, he had the title of Lord Burleigh confirmed in his person in virtue of a letter from the King on the death of his father-in-law. In 1640 he was appointed President of the Scottish Parliament, and it was he who advised the magistrates of Aberdeen to refuse Montrose's summons to surrender when the Great Marquis approached the granite city in September, 1644. Lord Balfour remained a devoted supporter of the Covenant until his death in 1663.

V.—Sir Archibald Napier of Merchiston, created Lord Napier in May, 1627, was the eldest son of the illustrious inventor of logarithms. His signature here is very curious as he took a decided part in favour of Charles I., and was one of those who affirmed the association formed by Montrose at Cumbernauld in January of the following year for the support of the royal authority. Like his father he was an author, having published a work extolling the virtues of salt as a fertilizer for the soil. He died in 1645 when over seventy years of age, and it was only by his friends paying five thousand merks that his opponents were induced to alter their decision to disinter his body in 1647 and pass a sentence of forfeiture.

PAPER No. V.

The Estates of Parliament p'ntlie* conveinit by his ma'ties† speciall authoritie Considdering That quhareas efter many petitiounes and supplicatiounes givin in and p'ntit‡ to his ma'tie and the Lordis of his secreit counsall by divers of the nobilitie barounes and burgess's of this kingdome for graunting a frie generall assemblie and a parliament for reformeing of many great abuses and novatiounes tending to ye overthrow of ye true reformed religioune and vndoeing of yis kirk and kingdome devysed and brought in by the lait p'ndit bishopes who by thair subtile practises dureing his ma'ties absence yir manie yeares had ingrossed in thair persounes all the ecclesiastik and civill power of this his ma'ties auncient and native kingdome. It wes grauntit by his ma'tie out of his royall justice and accordit by the articles of pacificatioune§ maid at his ma'ties campe in the moneth of Junij 1639 yeares last bypast. That a frie generall assemblie and parliament should be indicted be his ma'tie and that all matteris ecclesiastik should be determined by the assemblie of ye Kirk, and matteris civill by Parliamentis and vther inferior Judicatories establishit by law. And that according thairunto his ma'tie did indict ane assemblie to be haldin at Ed'br the tuelff Day of august and a parliament for ratifieing the conclusiounes of ye said assemblie and setting doune such vther thinges as might conduce to the peace and good of the Kingdome To be haldin at Ed'br the tuentie sext of august last bypast. In the quhich assemblie the matteris concerneing the puritie of ye true reformed Relgioune and peace of ye church

* Presently. † Majesty's. ‡ Presented. § Treaty of Berwick.

efter great Debait Delayes and protracting of tyme maid be Johne Earl of Traquair* his ma'ties commissioner being at length concludit vpon the Tuentie nynt Day of august Jai vic and threttie nyne yeares the parliament sitting doune immediatlie thairefter vpon the penult day of ye samyne moneth of august The ratificatioune of the conclusiounis of ye said assemblie and many vtheris matteris of great importance conduceing necessarlie to the peace of yis Kingdome being proponit in parliament Wer shifted and delayed and the closing of ye parliament wes lykewayes protracted from time to time vnto the——day of november last bypast. At ye quhich tyme the said Johne Earle of Traquair did tak vpon him without consent of ye Estates to prorogat the parliament vnto ye second day of Junij instant not only contrair to the articles of pacificatioune Bot also to ye prejudice of ye liberties of ye parliament: ffor preservatioune quhairof the saidis Estates wer forced to mak a declaratioune in parliament againes the samyne: and that albeit since the said——day of november vnto yis tyme The saidis Estates have vsed all possible meanes to give his ma'tie full satisfactioune both by thair peaceable cariage at home and by sending thair commissioneris to acquaint his ma'tie with all yair just desyres and the reasounes thairof Yet they have not only receaved no ans'r Bot vpon the contrair thair proceidingis in the said parliament being vntruelie relaitted by the said Johnne earle of Traquair have bene condemned as rebellious without hearing, and thair commissioneris sent for cleiring thairof all restrained in privat houses for a long tyme. And

* John Stuart, first Earl of Traquair, succeeded the Earl of Morton as Lord High Treasurer of Scotland in 1636. He signed the National Covenant in 1638 but endeavoured to keep on good terms with both parties in the State and as might have been expected he retained the confidence of neither. In 1640 he acted as his Majesty's Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament and the General Assembly. He raised a regiment of horse and accompanied the Army of the Engagement in 1648 with the result that he was taken prisoner at Preston and committed to Warwick Castle where he lay confined for four years. For this act of loyalty the Covenanting Parliament refused to allow him to return to Scotland. Later when he was liberated and permitted to come home he found his estates sequestrated and his circumstances became so reduced that we are told "he would take an alms, though not publicly ask for it." The following curious account of the death of the Earl of Traquair is taken from Scot's Staggering State :—"He died in *anno* 1659, in extreme poverty, on the lord's day, and suddenly, when taking a pipe of tobacco : and, at his burial, had no mortcloth, but a black apron ; nor towels, but dog leishes belonging to some gentlemen that were present ; and the grave being two feet shorter than his body, the assistants behoved to stay till the same was enlarged, and he buried." His portrait appears in Smith's Inconographia Scotica.

Johnne Lord Lowdoune* being one of thame committed to the tower quhair he is still deteined as yit prisoner, The Castles of Edg'r and Dumbartane have in the meantyme bene fortified and provydit with all sort of amunitioune in great aboundance and garrisounes of souldieris not being natives of this Kingdome put thairin, The garrisoun in the castell of Edg'r daylie killing divers of the Inhabitants of the citie and spoylling yair houss with musquettis and great ordinance, all shipes belonging to this kingdome arreisted in Ingland and Ireland, and manie of thame comeing from vther places laid wait for and takin by the way thair awneris† and passengeris spoylled‡ of yr goodes and apparrell, laid in yrones and barbarouslie abused. A commissioune grauntit to ye Generall of ye Inglish forces by sea and land to kill destroy and subdue this wholl natioune, A printed declaratioune put furth den'unceing warre againest it persuading exhorting and provoking the vther tuo kingdomes to graunt subsidies and tak armes againes the Inhabitants of this kingdome as Traitors and Rebellis And the parliament of Ireland hes proceidit so far as to declare thame to be such. All which thay have hitherto patientlie indured and thairby givin ane evident demonstratioune to ye warld of ye loyaltie of yair affectiounes to thair Soveraigne. Which no extreamitie shall ever mak thame to forget And now being pressed by the p'nt§ exigence of ye Estates of yis kingdome and bound by ye necessitie of that naturall dewtie thay owe to yame selffis and thair posteritie To provyd for ye saiffetie of the commounwealth and yr owne and tymouslie to prevent ye vtter ruine of this natioune which can no longer subsist vnder so great a burding (the tyme appoynted being come to the quhich the parliament wes prorogat and no advertisement come from his ma'tie to thame anent anie course to be takin for remeading of so great disordouris) thay being the great counsall of the kingdome could not be altogidder so forgetfull of thameselffis and deficient

* Sir John Campbell, eldest son of Sir James Campbell of Lawers, was created Earl of Loudoun by patent dated 12th May, 1633. He was a member of the Glasgow Assembly of 1638 and became one of the most energetic leaders of the Covenanting party in Scotland. He was arrested in London in January, 1640, and consigned to the Tower by Charles I. on a charge of being concerned in sending a letter signed by himself and six other Scots noblemen imploring the assistance of the King nf France, which letter was intercepted. Through the intervention of the Marquis of Hamilton, Lord Loudoun obtained his liberty after several months of confinement. In 1641 he was appointed Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, an office he continued to hold till the Restoration. He died at Edinburgh on the 13th of March, 1663.

† Owners ‡ Deprived. § Present.

to yr countrie as to suffer this parliament which thay had so oft petitioned from his ma'tie which wes conditioned and accordit by ye said articles of pacificatioune and indicted by his ma'ties authoritie To be deserted and expyre without anie conclusioune to the good of ye commoun wealth in so great extreamitie Bot rather thought thameselffis bound in conscience and dewtie to proceid to the determinatioune of such matteris as ar necessar for establishing of ye peace of yis kirk and kingdome as being the expres and speciall endis* of all thair supplicatiounes and agrieable to the saidis articles of pacifica'oune without touching anywayes on Soveraignitie or derogatting in anie sort from his ma'ties royall aut'tie† Bot on the contrair onlie looking first vpon the constitutiounes of the g'nall‡ assemblie past in p'nce of his ma'ties commissioner and the necessar consequences yairof and thair provyding remedies for ye p'nt evillis of the kingdome by removing the causs and establishing necessar conclusiounes for preventing the lyk heirefter In doeing quhairof as they have proceidit vprightlie in the way of justice and wt all due reverence and regaird to his ma'ties authoritie and thairby have stopped the calumnious mouthes of yr adversares So thay rested assured that his ma'tie efter due examina'oune of thair proceidingis finding the samyne agrieable to ye lawis and customes of yis his ma'ties auncient and native kingdome and nowayes repugnant to monarchicall governament Will out of his royall justice and goodnes Give his full consent thairunto and thair by totallie removing and extinguishing all ground and occasioun of controversie againes his faithfull and loyall subjectis Restore this kingdome to a full and solide peace which thay pray the lord to put in his ma'ties heart that he may long and prosperouslie reigne over thame And on the vther pairt considdering from bygane experience how malicious and dilligent thair adversares will be to calumniat these thair proceidingis and by thair suggestiounes to the kings ma'tie to kindle and intertayne factiounes and divisiounes yr anent and how necessar it is for ye saiffetie and peace of this kirk and kingdome. That the memberis of both doe vnanimouslie wt heart and hand testifie by yr subscriptiounes§ thair resolutioune and obliga'oune to acknowledge this parliament so often desyred by yr petitiounes and supplicatiounes and conveinit by his ma'ties solemne indictioune‖ according to the articles of pacifica'oune To be a frie law'll$ and necessar

* Ends. † Authority. ‡ General. § Signatures. ‖ Declaration.
$ Lawful.

parliament and to obey observe and mantayne the samyne for thame selffis constantlie and faithfullie And to ye vttermost of yr power to joyne and concur in yr severall statiounes and callingis with vtheris to advance furder and assist ther executioune obedience and obs'rving of ye actis and constitutiounes of yis p'nt parliament as the most fit and necessar remedies of ye bygane and p'nt evillis and distractiounes of this kirk and kingdome and for preserva'oune of the religioune lawis and liberties yairof and of his ma'ties aut'tie and that in the first parliament quhich shall be haldin heirefter within this kingdome and at all vther occasiounes againes any oppositioune quhatsumever except in so far as shall be heirefter thought fit and expedient be the commoun advyse and consent of ye Estates Thay have ordainit and ordaines the band* vnderwr'ttin to be subt† be all the memberis of parliament p'nt and absent and by all vther noblemen barounes and burgess and vyr‡ subjectis and Inhabitantis of the kingdome in yr shyres and burghes as thay shall be directit be the commissioneris of parliament left at Edgr and to be reported to yr clerk betuix and the first day of September nixt with certifica'oune that such as refuiss or postpones and delayes to subscryve ye samyne shall be haldin as enemies and opposites to ye comoun caus consisting in the mantenance of ye true reformit religioune and of ye lawis and liberties of yis kingdome and of his ma'ties aut'tie. Extractum de libris actorum parliamenti

per me ALEX GIBSONE §

We noblemen barounes burgess and vtheris vnder subscryving Considdering how necessar it is for us to establish our vnione in the preservatioune and mantenance of ye religioun lawis and liberties of yis kingdome and of his ma'ties aut'tie and to prevent all factiounes contentiounes and divisiounes quhich may arise in prejudice yairof from the malicious suggestiounes insinua'ounes of o'r adversares doe all and everie ane of us wt o'r heart and hand Testify and declair o'r resolutioune and obliga'oune for ye reasounes and causs at lenth exprest in ye act of parliament immediatlie preceiding to acknawledge ye forsaid parliament

* Bond. † Subscryvit, i.e. signed. ‡ Other.

§ Sir Alexander Gibson younger of Durie, son of the distinguished judge of the same name, was a clerk of Session and of Parliament. He was knighted by Charles on the 15th March, 1641, was admitted a Lord of Session on 2nd July, 1646, but having joined the "Engagement" he was deprived of his offices by the Act of Classes. He died in 1656.

Lykeas we bind and obleis us and everie ane of us vpon or honor and credite and as we desyre to be and to be haldin trew loveris of o'r Countrey and of ye Religioune Lawis and Liberties yairof effauldlie* and faithfullie to the vttermost of o'r power to joyne and concur wt o'r persones and Estates everie ane of us according to o'r severall statiounes and callingis In the mantenance and fredome and law'llness of ye foresaid parliament and in the advancement furtherance and assistance of the executioune obedience and observance of ye actis and constitutiounes yairof as ye most fit and necessar remedies of ye bygane and p'nt evillis and Distractiounes of yis kirk and kingdome and for ye preserva'oune of ye Religioune Lawis and Liberties yairof and of his ma'ties auc'tie and yat in ye first parliament which shall be haldin heirefter w'tin this kingdome and at all vyr occasiounes and againes any oppositioune quhatsumever (except in so far as shall heirefter be thought fit and expedient be the commoun advyse and consent of ye estates In witness qr'of we have subt yir p'ntis wt o'r hands

A. LESLIE	SIR J. MURRAY	BRUCE OF STANSTER	JAMES SUTHERLANDE
ROTHES	THO. NICOLSON	CHARLES CALDELL	
DUNFERMELINE	WILLIAM INNES	DANIEL CALDELL	
MAR	JOHNE MURRAY	DONALD CAMBELL	
DALHOUSIE	ALEXR. COGILL.	G BRUCE	
BALMERINOCK	D. COGILL	JA SINCLAIR	
BURGHLY	E. BRUCE	G SINCLAIR	
NAPER	PATRIK MOUAT	P SINCLAIR	
ELCHO	J. HAMILTON	A SINCLAIR	
MONTGOMERIE	SIR G. KEIR	(?) SINCLARE	
BERRIDELL.	G. HAMILTON	JA SINCLAR OF RATTER	
SINCLARE	A. SINCLAIR OFF DUN	FRANCIS SINCLAIR	
		PA. MOWATT	

[This is the "band of union" sent to Lord Sinclair by the hand of Patrick Gillespie along with the letter of 3rd July, 1640 from the Committee appointed by the Privy Council. It was chiefly intended to be signed by those in Caithness whose attitude towards the Covenant might be considered to be doubtful, and to give the document greater weight, a number of the leaders in Edinburgh appended their signatures before it was dispatched. The introduction is both interesting and valuable as being an official statement of the wrongs and oppressions suffered by the Covenanters, and which led them to take action in opposition to the

* Uprightly.

arbitrary government of King Charles. A restrained use of language characterises the entire wording of the document, and while each grievance is particularly set forth, and the remedy duly explained, there is ever apparent a desire to acknowledge the authority of the king safeguarded by Parliament. Any suggestion of attaining the ends in view by other than constitutional means is most carefully avoided. The sight of the actual signatures written by these men, who, great in their own generation, made history as few have done since, conjures up visions before us of figures moving through the council halls of the old Parliament House with set and solemn visages, surrounded by secret enemies more dangerous than open foes, never knowing what the succeeding day might have in reserve for them, but although carrying their lives in their hands yet always animated by the one strong determination that, happen what might, civil and religous liberty should be secured in Scotland not only for themselves but for posterity. The picture, however, is only wholly true of those, the majority, who continued steadfast to the end, for some fell away while the battle was but half-won.

The first signature, boldly written, as we would expect, is that of Alexander Leslie, the famous general of the Presbyterian forces, who was afterwards raised to the peerage by Charles as first Earl of Leven. He had a distinguished military career in Sweden where he rose to the rank of Field Marshal, but he returned to his native land in 1639 on being invited to take the chief command of the Covenanting army. He was also present at the battle of Marston-Moor, and it was to him that Charles came at Newark on 5th May, 1646. He died at Balgonie, 4th April, 1661.

A brief account of Lords Rothes and Dunfermline has already been given. See n. Paper No. IV.

The Earl of Mar, was John, eighth Earl, and hereditary Keeper of Stirling Castle. At first a Covenanter, he later joined Montrose and became associated with the fortunes of the Royalist party. He was a great projector and obtained a patent for tanning leather.

Lord Dalhousie, was William, second Lord Ramsay and first Earl of Dalhousie, and brother-in-law to Montrose—both having married daughters of the Earl of Southesk. He was appointed High Sheriff of the county of Midlothian, 24th October, 1646. A fine of fifteen hundred pounds was imposed upon him for his loyalty to the King by Cromwell's act of grace and pardon, 12th April, 1654.

Lords Balmerino, Burghly, and Napier have already been noticed. See n. Paper No. IV.

Lord Elcho, was David Wemyss, who succeeded his father as second Earl of Wemyss in 1649. He commanded a regiment of Fife infantry in the Scots campaign of 1640, while in 1644 at the head of six thousand men he was routed by Montrose at Tippermuir. He took great interest in his estates, developed minerals, and constructed a harbour at Methill in Fife.

Hugh, Lord Montgomerie, eldest son of Alexander, sixth Earl of Eglinton, was educated by the famous Robert Baillie. His signature here is curious for in 1643 he raised a troop of horse at his own expense, and marching into England fought with them on the Royal side at Marston-Moor when his father was in the opposing army. He succeeded to the title on the death of the Earl, his father, on 7th January 1661.

Lord Berridaill was William, eldest son of George, fifth Earl of Caithness, who was known as "the wicked Earl." His character was quite different from that of his father for whose sins he was made to suffer. He was imprisoned in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh for five years for his father's debts, and never reached the title as his father outlived him.

Lord Sinclair, is he to whom the "band" was sent.

The other signatures appear to be mainly those of Caithness men with the probable exception of "Tho. Nicolson," who in all likelihood was the distinguished lawyer of that name who was knighted and afterwards became Lord Advocate.]

PAPER No. VI.

For the Right Hon'll | and my verie Noble | Lord | My Lord Sinclare | These

My Noble Lord

I am verie muche bound to your lo | servant Mr Patrick Gillespie who hath obteinit me ye generalls Letter confirming my divisione, togither wt Instructiones againest the recusants verie punctuall which I hope your lo | also hath receavit zeit, according to Mr Patricks desye I have sent a coppie off them to Seafort I hope also your lo | hath receavit all the newes anent Lowdounes homcoming, anent the springing of the Castell mynd the assaults mead vpon the castell and

the battering and shakking off the walles theroff wtout anie hairme almost at all done to the toune or peopell therin, as also I hope your lo | hath receavit the printit acts againest maisterles men or againest those who after the enrolling refuses to goe as they are comandit. Iff your lo | hath not receavit all thir (wheroff I am confident you have) advertise me and your lo | shall receave them wt the nixt occasione My Lord Balmerinoche in his to me refers me muche to your lo | letter wherin iff ther be anie thing consernes the publicke I intreat your lo | advertise me wt the first occasione till which tyme and order I shall continoue

Your lo | most reall
freind and servant
J. SOUTHERLAND

Dounrobin the
XI off Jully
1640

at our last comitie it was appoyntit that we sould in a fair way sie iff we could get the Laird off Cromertie and his house taken which this weick sould bein effectuatted bot be some divlishe persone our desinges war mead knowen to him and he is fled to Strathnaver wt sex wt him and on off his sones for schalter wheroff I thoght meitt to acquaint your lo |

[This letter is written by John, fourteenth Earl of Sutherland who was the first to sign the Covenant in Greyfriars Church in 1638. He is sometimes represented as being an old man then, but that is a mstake, for he was only twenty-nine years of age at that time, having been born on 4th March, 1609. In April, 1624, when fifteen years old, the Earl of Sutherland went to Edinburgh to attend the University, but as the ensuing summer was likely to be hot, by the advice of his friends he "setled for a whyle at Leith vntill he wer acquented with the ayr of Edinbrugh" (*Genealogical Hist. of the Earldom of Sutherland, Edinr, 1813*). While General Monro was in Aberdeen early in 1640 the Earl of Sutherland with the forces of Ross and Sutherland, which were his division, was ordered to be watchful at Cromarty road in case the English should attempt anything there. About this same time the Earl of Seaforth was called to Edinburgh and detained two months under suspicion of being antagonistic to the Covenanters. Lord Sinclair was in Caithness when the letter was addressed to him and it announces the return to Scotland of the Earl of Loudon who had been consigned to the Tower on a charge of treason upon his arrival at Court on 19th January, 1640, as one of the Commissioners from the Committee of Estates. After the "Pacification of Berwick" Charles obtained possession of

Edinburgh Castle, and foreseeing further trouble in the future he had it furnished with considerable quantities of military stores and provisions, and appointed as Governor, General Patrick Ruthven, Lord Ettrick,* a brave and trustworthy officer. General Ruthven was blamed for causing much wanton destruction by canonading the town, and indeed this forms one of the grievances set forth in the preamble to the "Bond of Union" included among Lord Sinclair's papers. When asked to desist General Ruthven refused and the Castle was in consequence besieged by the Covenanters who erected batteries on the Castlehill, in the churchyard of Greyfriars, and at the West Kirk (St Cuthbert's). Their guns were, however, too light for the purpose of battering down the walls, but towards the end of July a desperate effort was made and a breach effected by the springing of a mine. Ruthven had been supplied with secret information and was on his guard with the result that the besiegers were repulsed and the breach repaired. Such is the account usually given of the incident referred to in the body of the Earl of Sutherland's letter which, being dated 11th July points to the grand assault on the Castle having been made earlier than is generally stated. The Castle ultimately surrendered on the 15th September following. The Laird of Cromarty alluded to in the postscript is the famous Sir Thomas Urquhart, the translator of Rabelais, an ardent Royalist, who, according to tradition, died of an inordinate fit of laughter, on hearing of the restoration of Charles II.]

PAPER No. VII.

For | My noble good Lord | and Cussing | My Lord Sinclair | These

My noble Lord and Cussing

According to my promeis as I wrot to yor Lo | I went to the churche to hear Divyne syrvice and yr eftir I called the haill elderis of the paroche and gentlemen that war thair to give me ane compt what men that they had prepared to goe with yor Lo | in that guid caus I fand nothing bot Delayes and schiftis whilk I fear the rest of the parochiners sall doe the lyk. Alwayes my lord, I have conferrit wt mr Jon smart†

*See Act 45 in List of Acts – Paper No. VIII.

† Minister at Wick. He was appointed a Justice of the Peace for Caithness-shire in 1634.

and hes layed with him ane vther cours anent the haill paroches in the cuntrey whilk if yor Lo | goe on in that forme I think it shalbe the rediest and best way for I never did meitt with such ignorant elderis in my dayes I doubt not my Lord bot it hes bene thoght that I have bene ane stayer of the men bot I hope tyme shall try my pairt for ther is nothing that I can forder yor Lo | in that earand bot I shalbe wilbe willing to try my selff and give yor Lo | contentment quhat I can or may. My Lord I am hearing that Sr Wm Sinclair Laird of Maij hes said that I cam as pairtie to Lyith to tak pairt wt wm bruce,* he is vnhable to say it nor zit is he hable to prove it, I cam as I wrote to yor Lo | of befoir as to stay truble wher if I had not bene present it had bene wors ; bot my Lord according to my bundin dewtie I should and aucht to give my best opinionis for if thir matteris be not vtherwayes vsit nor ar alreddie begun will turne to a feaster.† And seing at yor Lo | cuming heir all was quyet and no jar, Theirfoir I intreit yor Lo | to leive no jar behind yow ; for my Lord I am bundin to stand freind to wm bruce in respect I fostrit him fyftene yeir as lykwayes he is my syruand and cuntreyman And if they goe on legalie in this bissines against him I will assure yor Lo | I wilbe no pairtie, vtherwayes I most sie no wrong be done bot legallie, for I was never a man to defend vnlegall actionis as the cuntrey knawis. Sua to yor Lo | wys consideraoun in the premiss. I am and shall remaine

youre loueing Cosing and
Sruand
CAITHNES

Keis 8 Septr
1640

[The writer of this letter was George, fifth Earl of Caithness, whose criminal conduct procured for him the name of "the wicked Earl." He was never clear of serious trouble, and was always embroiled in quarrels with his neighbours. When his resources became exhausted he took to coining counterfeit money, and the northern counties are said to have been flooded with base coin before his malpractices were discovered. He was proclaimed a rebel on several occasions, but it would take pages to give

* William Bruce of Milburn succeeded his brother David as Laird of Lyith, Caithnessshire in 1633. *(Caithness Family History.)*

† Fester ; sore.

an account of all his misdeeds. He died at Caithness in 1643, a dishonoured old man of 78 years of age. His letter to Lord Sinclair, who was then raising men and getting ready to start for Aberdeen, is just the kind of letter that the Earl would be expected to write. Full of protestations and evasions, he commits himself to nothing definite and seems to realise in advance that his words are not likely to be accepted at their face value. A dour thrawn tone pervades the whole letter.]

PAPER No. VIII.

Erle Kinghorne sitting as Constable and Erle Rothes as Marischall

At Edr the 11 of Junij 1640 These articles were red and publictly voyced and passed in plaine parliament

1. Act anent choysing of Robert Lord Burghlie to be president in this court of parlia't in respect of the absence of the Kingis Comissioner*
2. Act anent the constitutione of this parlia't and all subsequent parliat's declaring the same to consist of the noblemen Baronis and burgesss as the thrie estaitis and rescindis all actis for constitutione of Bischopis prelatis and vyers churchmen in swa far as thay hade voyce representing the kirk or this estate.
3. Declaratioune of the parlia't promittit to the actis qrby thay represent ther vrgent and extreame necessity for proceiding in this parlia't at this tyme.
4. Act anent the choysing of Comitties for preparing of articleis for the parlia't either choice or not choice as thay sall think expedient and if thay choice the noblemen be ymselffis The Barronis be thameselffis and the Burrowis be ym selffis not exceiding the number conteined in the act 1587 and to treat in these articleis recomendit to thame be the estaities And to be reportit be thame to the estaitis And if thay neglect to report, The vpgiver may present in plaine parlia't
5. Ratificatione of the actis of assembly 17 August 1639-8-sessione yrof Intituled anent the 6 causes of our bygane evills. 1. Service book 2. articles of Perthe 3. change of government by putting in of Bischopis. 4. Civill plaices and power of churche men 5. corrupt

*John, First Earl of Traquair.

assemblies 1606, 1608, 1610, 1616, 1617, 1618, for the want of assemblies rytlie constitut of pastors Doctors and elderis

6. Ratificatione of the Covenant with the supplicatione gevin in to the counsall and act of secret Counsall yranent to be presentit at every parlia't to be sworne and subt And if any refuis to swear and subscryve To have no voyce in parlia't and suche to be presentit to all magistratis judges and ministeris befor thair admissione
7. Act rescissorie rescinding all actis of parlia't maid in favors of Bischopis prelatis and vyrs churchemen for thair plaices and power in civill places alsweill in parlia't as in vyr Judicatories
8. Act statutorie ordaining parliamentis to be haldin every thrie yeiris once and oftner as his ma' | sall pleas call yame to be thought vpone appoynted and affixt by his ma'tie or his Comissioner for the tyme, and the estaitis of parlia't Befor the ryding and closeing of every parlia't And to be the last act yrof, And the haill estaitis wisheth (as it wes yr happines at all parlia'ts when his ma | wes in Scotland) So that his ma | wold be pleasit at all parlia'ts and thay humbly supplicat his ma | for yt effect
9. Act anent the book callit the Large Declaratione or manefesto efter examining yr of findis it full of lyies vntrewthes and calumnies and ordaines the wretteris yrof alsweill for the book as for prefixing his ma | name to suche ane scandoluis lybell.
10. Act for warranding the Lords of Session To direct l'res of horneing againes excomunicat prelatis and vyr excomunicat persones
11. for plantatione of kirkis not provydit be the patronis and vyrs Requyring the presbetries with consent of the parochineries, And the lords of Sessione To direct letteris efter thair admissione without prejudice of the patronage when they sall vaik
12. Act ordaining the presbetries to have the provyding of kirkis pertening to Bischopis
13. Discharging of Salt panis and Mylnis 14. Salmond fisching on sonday.
15. Act anent the castell of edr Dunbartane and Stirling that the same sall not be keipit bot be natives peaceablie to the cuntry and oblidgit be oathe to the kingis honor the cuntryis weill and preservatioune of religione and if thay transgres to be punisched as traitouris and the keiperis to be putt in be his ma | and estaitis and if betuix parliamentis to be tryed be the counsall and allowit only in the Interim till the nixt parlia't at qlk tyme to be examined and allowit

16. Act ordaining the Clerk Regre and vyrs who hes the keiping of the regrat Recordis and rollis of parliament to produce the samyne the first sessione of the parlia't that the samyne may be maid patent for cleiring of doubtis in parliament and to give extractis to the leidgis
17. Act against papistis ratifieing old actis declaring thame not only against men bot also against women Giving ministeris that same power that Bishopis be the actis hade abrogating the said actis in swa far as the saidis Bischopis ar named or authorized
18. (act agaist proxis) 19. against protectionis Ratyfieing old actis and of new (————*) voooorent
20. act anent the excheqr explaining the same that the valeditie of Infeftmentis cannot be judged be excheqr Bot be the lords of sessione and the excheqr is only anent rentis and dewties
21. Act declaring that the clauss Irritant in Infeftmentis haldin of Bischopis sall not now fall from the first of apryle 1638 vntill order be takin be the kirk and estaitis and publictly to the leidgeis.
22. The Lady Lowdoun and childrenis petitione with the ansr yr to ffindis and declairis The erle of Dumfermling and Lord Lowdoun first sending and yrefter with thame the sroff of Tyvedaill and mr Ro't Barclay thair proceidings to be all faithfully and weill done cleiring the Lord Lowdoun† of the pretendit frenche letter and that hes suffering Innocentlie his Imprisonment acknowledging that the estaitis sufferis in him and to use all meanes for his libertie and takis it as ane matter done to ymselffis and sall repair what losses and Indemnities the said Lord Lowdoun sall suffer in his persone meanes or state.
23. anent vassallis of erectionis declairing the Superiors notwithstanding of thair reservatioune to have thair few dewties payed to thame quhill the same be redeimed conforme to the kingis decrie notwithstanding the saidis vassallis thair Infeftmentis vnder the great seall qrby thay ar oblidged to pay to the King and so micht seeme to Infer double pay't
24. anent proclama'onis vnder payne of treassone Declairis the same to be null

* This word is indistinct in the original
† John, first Earl of Loudoun, see n. Paper No. V.

25. Act Dischairging yuill vaikance and the sessione to sitt from the first of Novr to the last of Februar and from the first of Junij to the last of July
26. Anent the ward and mariage of those quho sall happin to be killed in maintenance of religione lawis and liberties of this kingdome that the same sall fall and belonge to the ayre, In caice the rest of the bairnes be provydit, and quhair thay ar not provydit to the relict and bairnes amongst yame.
27. Act ordaining all grievances to be gevin in in plaine parlia't and not to the clerk of Regre as on act 1594.
28. Explana'one of the actis anent bandes and meittingis declairing thair meittingis and bandes in this troubles to be good and law'll
29. Act ratefieing the act of Sessione 1639 for supplieing the want of the signet dischairging the way taking of the same or any vyr sealls or signetis
30. Act dischairging the custome of amunitione brocht home for defence of Religione and Liberties
31. Act suppressing the distinctione betuix spirituall and temporall Lords of Sessione
32. Act anent the comone releiff The tent pairt anent the inbringing of valuaonis and provisione for fourtie dayes
33. Act for the comittie of estate. 34. act giveing warrand for sumonds of Treassone to be raised and execute by thais of the Comittie against traitors to the cuntry
35. Against leisingmakeris of whatsoever rank qualetie or office especially bad conselloris to his ma'tie Renewing old actis
36. Act anent the act for ward lands 1633 Recomending the same to the nixt Sessione of this parlia't and suspending the executione yrof in the Interim
37. Act for warrand of ane thowsand merks for the pror for the Kirk fyve hundrethe m'ks for the clerk of the assembly and fyve hundrethe merks to be payit to the agent for the clerk out of Bischopis rentis of St ands Edr and Glasgow entrie crop and yeir of god 1638. 38. Ratificatione of the Generalls priviledge in anno 1639
39. Ratificatione of his patent in anno 1640 with additione of G'nall alsweill be sea as land and declaratione anent the actis of militarie discipline and that he sall not ingadge in warr or mak peace without bothe the quorumeis at least of the Comittie and Mr Ro't Meldrum ordainit to wait vpone the G'nall as secretar for the dispatch of his affairis

40. Ratificatione of the G'nall of artilzeries patent to Collonell alexr hamyltoun
41. Ratificatione to Colonell William bailzie to be G'nall major
42. Ratificaone of Colonell Monro his Comissione as Generall Major in absence
43. Ratificatione of the G'nall Commisseris comissione with additione of power to appoynt
44. Some remittis to the comittie
45. Warrand for sumonding Patrik Lord Etrick* and all vyr Comanderis of the castell of Edr for treassoun and decreit of forfaultrie yr vpone
46. Warrand for sumonding the keiperis of the castell of Dunbartane and hous of Treive†
47. Warrand to the clerkis to extract or caus print thir present actis being subscryvit be Robert Lord Burghlie as president
48. Act Ratyfieng the said Lord Burghlie his proceidingis in his presedencie
49. act for sub'one of ane band of vnione maintening the religione liberties and his ma'ties au'ctie and for ratificatione of the same in the nixt parlia't and at all vther occasiones as also that this is ane frie and law'll parlia't and that they sall abyde be it except in swa far as salbe thocht fitting by advyse and consent of the estaitis
50. Act for changeing of the Mondayes mercat and fieing of scheareris on Sonday The conclusione of the parlia't Intituled the humble and continued desyres of the subjects convenit in the parlia't by his ma'ties au'ctie
The act and band foirsaid wes subt in presence of the parlia't be the nobleme Comiss'rs of schyres and burrowis quhairof ane double is keipit be young Durie‡ and ane vther be Mr Archbald Jonstoun§

* See Paper No. VI.

† Threave Castle in the parish of Balmaghie, Kirkcudbrightshire now a picturesque ruin and haunt of the tourist. It was built by Archibald the Grim, 3rd Earl of Douglas towards the close of the 14th century, and was stormed by James II. who employed "Mons Meg" against it. The Earl of Nithsdale acquired Threave Castle and held it for Charles until the King instructed him to make the best terms possible and surrender.

‡ Sir Alexander Gibson, younger of Durie. See n., Paper No. V.

§ Afterwards Lord Warriston, the famous lawyer and political adviser of the Covenanters. He was hanged at the cross of Edinburgh, 22nd July, 1663, without the formality of a trial for having been a leader of the Covenanters, and for his compliance with Cromwell's government. It was from Cromwell that he had received his title or Lord Warriston.

Act for continuatione of the parlia't to the 19 of november nixt and the same to be ane current parlia't but prejudice to extract or print the foirsaidis actis in sick lyk caice as if the same hade not bene continued.

[The foregoing paper consists of a list of fifty acts passed by the Scots Parliament of 1640, and will be found to include a number that have not been printed. Needless to say much information is available in this contemporary record that is of the utmost value to anyone interested in the history of Scotland during the reign of Charles I.]

PAPER No. IX.

Port in Dublin

Scott & Broome

p'mitt Lieften't Gray [for the right honno'ble the Lord Sinclare Governor of the Newry to lade aboord the Mary of Dublin John Macgennis Mr, one hundred barrells of maulte, sixteene barrells of beere, tenne barrells of salte, twoo hdds of french wines, three packs of cloath for the Souldiers and one trunke of p'ticular necessaryes, wch are to goe along the Coast for Newry and letpas, by license from the right honno'ble the Lo. Justice and Counsell witnes o'r hands the 10th of March, 1642.

THO: BENNET	JAMES BARLOW	ROB: HUGHES
D. CUST & COLL	D. SRVEYOR genl	D: COMPTR

[This passport is interesting because it shows the procedure adopted in dealing with the shipment of supplies consigned for the use of the Scottish army in the north of Ireland. It also brings out a point that I have not observed mentioned elsewhere, namely, that Lord Sinclair held the post of Governor of the Newry to which he must have been appointed either before leaving Scotland or immediately after he landed in Ireland, which was in the beginning of March. The nature of the cargo shipped in the "Mary of Dublin" affords proof that the Covenanting soldier, however temperate he may have been, was certainly not a rigid teetotaller.]

PAPER No. X.

My verray hono'll | good Lord | My Lord Sinclair | theis

My Lord

I receaveitt yor | lo | letter qras yor | to | wryttes to me conscerning Lumsdalls mo'y* I sall send my Brother Jon and Jon Innes presentlie south and sall tak cours and provyd for it against ye tyme I hoip yor | lo | will conteinew as yor | lo | hes wrytten I wold rather choise to be Landles befoir yor | lo | wold be troublitt for me Since I persaue that I cannot gett this take exped† grantitt be his Majestie to me of ye Bischoprick of caithnes I will takit of Mais Livingstoune‡ according to that same conditiounes and sall mortafie as mutch mo'y in ye most responsall handes in Edr as ye anvel§ rent yrof sall pay the rent of ye temporall landes and as for ye few dewtie and Tak dewtie I sall aither giff him horneing|| or payment for ye same as also sueirtie for itt, yor | lo | will take the paines as to go over the matt$ and end upon these termes as I salbe readdie to obey yor | lo | comand (as reassone is) so expecting ane continuance of yor | lo | favour I remaine

Yor lo | humble servant

JA SINCLAIR

Murkle 25
Apryll
1642

[Sir James Sinclair of Murkle, Caithness-shire, writes this letter to Lord Sinclair who presumably was in Ireland, whither he had gone with General Monro early in the month of March. The letter would seem to be more of a private than of a public nature, and the wording of it appears to indicate that Lord Sinclair had become security for Sir James in some money transaction which he wished to see provided for. The reference to the Bishopric of Caithness is very curious.]

* Money. † Issued—put out.
‡ May have been Rev. John Livingstone, minister or Ancrum.
§ Annual. || Promise of payment. $ Matter.

PAPER No. XI.

For My honoll | Lord | My Lord Sinclair | Theis

My verie Honoll Lord

To morrow after my arrywall in Irland, withe 10 companies of the Generall majoris regement, Humes whole regment, Tuo culoris of the Generallis, tuo of Glencairnes, 5 of Laeris (1) wee took our marche towardis the band (2) wher we met withe fiue culoris of Sr Johne Klatwoodis (3) and four troupis of hors, then we took our marche doune the band towardis Culraine (4) thinking be that meanes to Introweine the ennimie that wer in the routis in glenarne (5) so bieing vpon our marche we had knowledge that the ennemie was coming to port Creath with their hoile cattell then we comanded yat tuo pairties of musquatiries throughe the woodis and the boughis to goe betwixt them and the pas and withe the reste wee marcht to Bellimonie (6) to Inclose them howsoewer the most of the ennemie got ower yeit their wes sume 30 or 40 men cutt downe withe sume wywes and chyldrene for I promis your Lo | suche gallants gotis but small mercie if they come in your comone sogeris handis, tho the officeris doe strywe to represse it We got lykwayis the matter of 2200 kowis qlk came to a count after our returne withe a number of baggadge beastis. Tomorrow after we lay still bieng the Sabotheday Bot the Generall major went out withe sume foure hundrethe men towardis Dunlooce (7) the Earle of Antromes hous qr the Earle was himself qho pntlie surrendred to the Generall major without anie resistance The Generall major left his Liewtennant Coll (8) in the hous withe a Garisoune and hes the Earle also in keiping. Tomorrow after wee marche to Baylie castle (9) qr we met withe tuo from the Marquis of Arguyles regement qho wer in the ylle of Rachrie (10) We waited thrie or four dayis their landing and gawe

(1) Campbell of Lawers. (2) The River Bann.
(3) ? Sir John Clatworthy. (4) Coleraine.
(5) Glenarm, a market town in Antrim on an inlet or the Irish Sea or same name, 25½ miles north of Belfast.
(6) Ballymoney in the north or Antrim.
(7) Dunluce Castle a structure of the 14th century, now a picturesque ruin.
(8) Lieutenant Colonel.
(9) Ballycastle, a seaport town at northern extremity of Antrim, opposite Rathlin.
(10) Argyle had obtained a grant of the Island of Rathlin or Rachie belonging to the Earl of Antrim to which he sent a regiment and kept it there for a long time. (*Hist. of Independency. App. p.* 9).

them the hous for their garisoune withe Donswerie and the cloche wheir withe they wer malcontent becaus they got not Dunlooce : for they think all that is their to be their owne propertie, so hawing compassed the most pairt of yt pairt of the countrie we took our recourse bakward and mynded to to hawe pitched a leager the matter of 7 mylwes frome Craigferguis : Bot could not weil doe it in respect of the indigence of wictuall. In the meantyme My Lord Eardis (*) and Connoweyis (†) folkis wold not be idle but went southe withe 1400 men to Lashmagarwie to cleanse that pairt of the countrey qheir they encountred 3 or 4 hundrethe of the ennime and mad a fair retreat withe their finger in their cheek and lost sume and hed sume hurt

your Lo: humble Servant

frome Craigferguis the
10 of June 1642 yearis

[This letter is of very particular interest as it affords detailed information regarding the movements of the Scottish army in Ireland under General Robert Monro. It tells about a trap laid for the Irish near Ballymoney which seems to have proved somewhat of a failure except in the matter of the number of cattle captured. Apparently the Irish were not to be treated with much consideration from the narrative given and this agrees with printed accounts of the campaign. The first capture of the Earl of Antrim by General Monro is mentioned and an amusing description is given of "two from the Marquis of Argyle's regiment" who appear to have had a good conceit of themselves. The closing incident is told with some humour. Unfortunately the writer of the letter is unknown as someone has cut out the signature from the bottom of the paper, but my friend F. J. Grant, Esq., Lyon Clerk and Rothesay Herald, informs me that the seal on the back of the letter bears the arms of the Leslies and the initials P.L. so that in all likelihood the author was some member of that distinguished family. The story of Monro's Scottish army in Ireland up to June, 1642, is told in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology Vol. VIII. pp. 77-87.*]

(11) Second Viscount Montgomery of Ardes, who was "Colonel of 1000 foot and five troops of horse." (*Montgomery MSS. p.* 153). His father was Sir Hugh Montgomery, sixth laird of Braidstone in the parish of Beith, Ayrshire, a cadet of the Eglinton family, and the principal leader in the colonisation of Ulster in 1606. Sir Hugh was raised to the peerage of Ireland in 1622 when he was created Viscount Montgomery of Ardes, County Down.

(12) Viscount Conway, he held the title of "Marshall of Ireland."

PAPER No. XII.

ffor | My varie hounoll good Lord | My Lord Sinclair | Theis

My varie honnorabill good Lord,

Pleis witt Sir George Hamiltoun spok me and Captan Innes bearer heirof hes schawen me that he was informeit be John Sinclair of Asserie that it was in my default that the townes people of Thurso was vnpeyit your Lordship nather gave me ordour nor directioun for that effect I have schawin the bearer the maner and certantie of the samyn. Your Lordship resaueit sextein hundreth merkis, My Lord Berradaills pairt being jm merks and ods : ane number of the wassals that I gave in dilligence against for 1639 and nather will the tennents pey of ony restan quhill first thei be peyit of Thurso people quhat will be found dewlie restan of my intromissioun. I will moist glaidlie give content to ony your Lordship pleise nominat efter compt (Johne Sinclair being exceptit) for I am daylie trublit be him and chargeit at his instance of theis letters quher your Lordship gave warrand in the contrair : quhat muckle Johne and his sone restis I refer to the bearer to signifie the samyn to your Lordship as was cleirlie instructit to him in presenc of Mr William Abernathie. I will mak bold to requeist your Lordship one thing quhatever your Lordship doeth heir of me be sinistrous informatioun that your Lordship try or ye trust Sua expecting your Lordships charitable censour heiranent I am

Yor Lo | humble servand

20 Maij 1642 DA MONRO

[This letter written by the Commissary clerk of Thurso has probably to do with the affairs of the Earl of Caithness who was under age and for whom Lord Sinclair had been appointed to act in the capacity of guardian. Evidently John Sinclair of Asserie was more than David Monro could stand !]

PAPER No. XIII.

To My right hono'll good Lord | My Lord Sinclair.

My Noble Lord

Thir few Lynnes ar to schow yor Lo | yat yair is ane accident fallen out by ane Capitane Innes who is called first capitane of yor

regiment being in company wt Major borthwik in ye toun of Irwyne* who is Major to ye Erle of Lindsey, in ye Ludgeing where they were It befell ye said Cap: Innes to come doun stairis from Major borthwik where he rancountered wt ane sojor of Major borthwikis called Johnne steill ane very prettie sojor Demanding ane stick from him (as we ar informed) and what answer the sojor gave to Cap: Innes we cannot get notice Bot cap: Innes p'ntlie strok him wt ane whinger† above ye left pap which stroak pntly killed him And after ye killing Cap: Innes wes apprehended Wherevpoun I wis advertist and I have caused keep him till I know ye generallis minde what salbe done therein, he salbe very kindly vsed out of ye respect I carie to yor Lo | and I thot best to advertise yor Lo | yat ye may resolve wt‡ ye generall what salbe done further therein. ffor I have writtin at Lenth to ye generall in yat particular myself, and I apprehend it onlie to be ane suddant shat-melle§ Therefore your Lo | sall resolve wt ye generall what is best to be done for myn and ye tounes exonera'on ffor I sall remayne

your Lo | affectionat freind
To serve you
EGLINTOUN.

Eglintoun 25
Junij 1642

This accident fell furth at
sevin aclok at night

[The writer of this letter is Sir Alexander Seton, sixth Earl of Eglinton, who assumed the name of Montgomery on succeeding to the title in 1612. On account of his bold and resolute character he acquired the name of Graysteel. He carried the sword before Charles from the Parliament House to Holyrood on the rising of Parliament on 28th May, 1633. In 1642 he was a member of the General Assembly when the Solemn League and Covenant was decided upon, and in the same year he had command of one of the regiments dispatched to Ireland to quell the rebellion which had broken out in that country. It was also he who assembled a large body of men at Mauchline in 1648, after the defeat of the army of the "Engagement" at Preston, and marched to Edinburgh, which they entered without opposition. This affair was popularly dubbed the "Whigamores' Raid" and was the origin of the word Whig afterwards

* Irvine. † Sword. ‡ With.
§ Chaud-melle, a sudden broil; from Fr. *Chaude* hot *melee* broil.

applied to one of the great political parties in the State. The letter is an interesting one and very quaintly expressed. Lord Sinclair had gone to Ireland as we have seen, early in the month of March of this year and it probably was addressed to him there. Captain Innes was likely to be one of two men bearing the same title who belonged to Caithness, and who are mentioned in the book of Caithness Family History. Spalding has the following reference to Major Borthwick, " Mononday, the 2nd of May, (1642) drums daylie beating throw New Aiberdeen for soldiouris to marche for Ireland in the Erll of Lyndsayis regiment, wnder Major Borthuik, vpone the Kingis pay, ilk commoun soldiour to have aucht s. of wages ilk day, and the officiares to get gude payment of there owne dewis." The Earl of Lindsay was John, tenth Lord Lindsay of the Byres, created Earl of Lindsay 5th May, 1633, who became seventeenth Earl of Crawford in 1644, after the Scots Parliament had at his instance passed sentence of forfeiture against Ludovick, sixteenth Earl of Crawford. Earl Ludovick was a Royalist and acted as a General under Prince Rupert at Marston Moor, but Earl John was a prominent leader of the Covenanters who in course of time held most of the principal offices of State. Lord Eglinton was one of the supporters of Charles II. after the execution of Charles I. and raised a regiment for his service, but he was surprised at Dumbarton, when in bed, by a party of English horse, and was dispatched a prisoner first to Hull, then to Berwick where he remained in confinement till the Restoration. He died 7th January, 1661 in the 71st year of his age.]

PAPER No. XIV.

To My verie hono'll Lord | My Lord Sinclare | These

My Noble Lord

Yor Lo'p former favoures hes made me so prowde, that I darre adventure to chalendge yow of a promise, and that is for the tarcell* of Goshawke which yor Lop promised the Last yeare to Arthure Barkley, I have heire bein of Late sollicited by him for hir, and am so much beholden to the man, quho trewly honoures yor Lo'p, that I would thinke myself happie if in ainy thing I could pleasure him; none can

* Male.

sooner afford me occasion, then yowr Lo'pp upon quhom I darre presume as much as ainy freinde I have in the wordle, and for this and all yor Lo'p courtisies I shall not faile to witnesse my self

yor Lo'p most affectionate
and faithfull servante
AMISFEILDE

Newbie the
5 of July

[This letter is written from Newbie in Annandale by Sir John Charteris of Amisfield, a thorough-going loyalist, who suffered great hardships in consequence of his attachment to Charles I. His brother, Captain Alexander Charteris was one of the five most distinguished officers of Montrose, who were beheaded by the Maiden at Edinburgh after that unfortunate nobleman's execution. The letter is undated, but it probably was written about the same time as the others, only it seems strange that such an application should have been made to Lord Sinclair who as far as can be seen had no leisure for hawking or any other pastime, his hands being fully employed with affairs of greater importance. The name of Sir John Charteris appears later in the same list with that of Lord Sinclair, prohibiting them and others from appearing at Court after Lord Sinclair had broken with the Covenanters.]

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